



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

**NORTH CAROLINA**

**PART 10 OF 15**

**BUFILE NUMBER: 105-165706**

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
NORTH CAROLINA

FBIHQ FILE 105-165706-8

Section 9

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE

CHARLOTTE

REPORT MADE AT

SAN FRANCISCO

DATE

1/22/71

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD

11/12/70 - 1/13/71

TITLE OF CASE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

REPORT MADE BY

SA [REDACTED]

TYPED BY

jeb

CHARACTER OF CASE

RACIAL MATTERS; SMITH ACT OF  
1940; SEDITION CONSPIRACY;  
REBELLION AND INSURRECTION

REFERENCE:

Charlotte report of SA THOMAS H. GEORGE 11/25/70.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified Confidential to protect sources whose identities or compromise could adversely affect the National Defense interest of the United States.

*Do NOT Disseminate  
This Report*

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

- 11-Bureau (105-165706 Sub 8) (RM)  
 2 - San Francisco (157-3861) (RM)  
 3 - Charlotte (157-6171)

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105-165706-8-404	REC-48
	K-103
JAN 27 1971	

## Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	By

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

60 MAR 8 1971

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EXP. PROC.  
2/1/71

CE 157-6171

INFORMANTS:

Ident:

Location:

All of the above are permanently assigned T symbols.  
SF T-16, SF T-22 and WF T-10 are technical installations  
authorized by the Attorney General of the United States and

B  
COVER PAGE

CE 157-6171

any information obtained, if to be made public, must be introduced by the Special Agent of the particular office having made the pertinent transcript.

Unless otherwise noted, investigation at Winston-Salem, N. C., was by SA [REDACTED] at High Point, N. C., by SA [REDACTED]; and at Chapel Hill, N. C., by SA [REDACTED]

LEADS:

CHARLOTTE

AT HIGH POINT AND WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Will follow activities of Black Panther Party.

AT CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Will submit monthly report.

C\*  
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED]  
Date: January 22, 1971

Office: CHARLOTTE

Field Office File #: CE 157-6171

Bureau File #: 105-165706 Sub 8

Title: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Character: RACIAL MATTERS; SMITH ACT OF 1940; SEDITION CONSPIRACY;  
REBELLION AND INSURRECTION

Synopsis: The Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism operates as a Black Panther Party affiliated group at Winston-Salem, N. C., and furnishes leadership for activities at High Point, Chapel Hill, and Lumberton, N. C. Former headquarters at 1602 E. Fourteenth Street burned 11/27/70 and activities were moved to 1616 E. 23rd Street and 1127 E. 23rd Street, in addition to another house at 1386 Wilson Street. Group has obtained weapons, fortified their headquarters, and receives and sells the Black Panther Party newspaper.

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DETAILS:

Characterizations of the Black Panther Party, Students for a Democratic Society, and Young Socialist Alliance, are attached as appendices to this report.



CE 157-6171

I. REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM AND POLICIES AS  
EXPRESSED BY BLACK PANTHER PARTY LEADERS

On November 27, 1970, [REDACTED]

Reported that at approximately 12 noon, one rental truck bearing North Carolina License [REDACTED] a white Thunderbird bearing North Carolina License [REDACTED] a red Dodge bearing North Carolina License [REDACTED] and a Volkswagen Station Wagon bearing North Carolina License [REDACTED] departed the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) Headquarters at Winston-Salem, apparently en route to Washington, D. C. No estimate could be made of the exact number of people in the group.

Records of the North Carolina Department of Motor Vehicles (NCDMV), as obtained from the Charlotte, North Carolina, Police Department, indicate that North Carolina License [REDACTED] is registered to a 1960 Ford Sedan to [REDACTED] Winston-Salem, North Carolina; that North Carolina License [REDACTED] is registered to a 1965 Dodge two-door in the name of [REDACTED] North Carolina; that North Carolina License [REDACTED] is registered to a 1967 Volkswagen Station Wagon to [REDACTED] Winston-Salem, North Carolina; and that North Carolina License 2594-H is registered to a 1968 International Truck owned by Truck Leasing Service, 507 Arlington Street, Greensboro, North Carolina.

On November 27, 1970, [REDACTED] reported that LARRY LITTLE of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, National Committee to Combat Fascism, had made inquiries of a number of bus lines concerning the leasing of a bus for a trip to Washington, D. C. LITTLE was offered a bus by [REDACTED]; however, he failed to recontact the bus line to obtain a bus and his method of transportation to Washington, D. C., is not known to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who has knowledge of activities at Chapel Hill and Durham, North Carolina, reported that on November 25, 1970, approximately twenty individuals, all white members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), New University Conference, Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) or other such group, plan to travel to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPPC) with this travel to be made by personally owned automobiles. Exact details were not known to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] reported the following information:

On November 27, 1970, the Southern Section of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention registered at the All Saints Unitarian Church located at Sixteenth Street and Harvard Avenue, Washington, D. C. There were approximately seventy five to one hundred persons there at about 9 a.m., sixty per cent of which were white.

Two security guards were observed at each entrance to the church. No one with a camera was permitted to enter and one person who endeavored to do so was bodily thrown out. No fee was charged for registration, but donations for the Black Panther Party were received and most people gave \$5 or more.

Upon registration, the normal registration packet was not provided, instead each person was given a slip of paper reflecting the registration, but containing no instructions. Those people who registered were told to wait and most did so throughout the morning without receiving any instructions whatsoever.

Among those observed outside the church were the following:

[REDACTED]

Cars, operated in the area by the white persons seeking to attend the convention, bore license numbers including South Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia.

There were persons in the area selling books such as Education and Revolution by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, The Ideology of the BPP, Capitalism Does Equals Genocide, and We The People. Also being sold in the area were newspapers including Rise Up in Anger of the Women's Liberation, The Quick Silver Times, The Militant, and the BPP paper.

On November 27, 1970, after lunch, the group continued to hang around the Unitarian Church until about 4:45 p.m. No significant instructions were received. Many of those present were furious at the lack of organization. However, it was announced that there would be a mass meeting in the Malcolm X Park at Seventeenth Street and Euclid Street that night.

There a person, referred to as "BIG MAN", spoke. He told how Howard University should have let the Black Panther Party hold the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention on campus free. His talk and the activities in the park concluded by about 9 p.m.

"BIG MAN" appeared to be a Negro male, twenty five to twenty seven years of age, six feet three inches tall, weighing 200 pounds, with an Afro hairdo and a Vandyke beard with a very black complexion.

On Saturday, November 28, 1970, approximately one thousand persons were gathered at the Unitarian Church. Most of those present, a large number of whom were white, broke into small discussion groups on an informal basis as there was again no formal program or workshop.

Sometime during the morning, approximately five members from the Black Panther Party, including a person identified as MICHAEL TARBOR, from New York, New York, appeared briefly and announced that the constitution would be read at Saint Stevens Episcopal Church that night.

At approximately 7:15 p.m., November 28, 1970, Saint Stevens Episcopal Church in Washington, D. C., was filled to capacity. In addition, microphones were set up to play to people in the yard outside. MICHAEL TARBOR did most of the talking. He gave a brief background of the various workshops in connection with the creation of the constitution. Included in these workshops were the following:

Women's Liberation

Gay Liberation

Women In General

E. C. Women

Means of Production

Control of Land

Control of Military

Internationalism

Self-Determination for Street People

Self-Determination for National Minorities

Children's Rights

Revolutionary Artists

Religious Repression

Drugs

Health

Education

Legal System

Political Prisons

A list of information centers was furnished and the constitution read.

On Sunday, November 29, 1970, a number of persons reassembled at the church. However, mostly white radicals were present. Again there was no formal meeting or announcements.

In general, the tenure of those present was the expression of a general disgust toward the United States Government and expressed preference for Communism. Since the black people were a minority, it was necessary for them, including those led by the Black Panther Party, to combine with the white radicals against the establishment. This group indicated a hope for support from Russia and other Marxist nations.

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On December 4, 1970, [REDACTED] advised that approximately twenty people from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, traveled to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention in three cars and a Hertz truck. They arrived late because a wheel came off the truck near Henderson, North Carolina, and the Black Panther Party members from Winston-Salem are accusing the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Hertz of collusion due to this vehicle's failure. It was determined that the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention was described by those in attendance as being a disorganized fiasco and most of the members from Winston-Salem were put to work on their arrival at such places as a medical clinic or typing, filing, and so forth. U

On [REDACTED] reported that JAMES ARTHUR COWERS and RUSSELL EDWARD DONALD were the only known individuals from the Lumberton, North Carolina, area, who attended the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention during the Thanksgiving weekend. As of [REDACTED], these two had not returned to Lumberton and there was some indication that a Panther member from New York will come with them when they do return. U

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he first joined the BPP in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, [REDACTED] at which time ROBERT GREER was the head man. [REDACTED] stated that, since [REDACTED] left the BPP, the unit in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, has been falling apart. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] named the following individuals as members and sympathizers that he knew of in the NCCF at Winston-Salem, North Carolina:

LARRY LITTLE [REDACTED]

JULIUS CORNELL [REDACTED]

BATESTI

JESSE STITT

On [REDACTED] at Winston-Salem, N. C. File # [REDACTED]

by SA [REDACTED] /stp Date dictated [REDACTED]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ROBERT GREER

NELSON MALLOY

HAZEL MACK

DANIEL SMITH

ED McQUEEN

LEE FAYE MACK

RICKIE HOOPER

NANCY SMITH

JAMES FORM

advised that CLARA and RUTH MACK are not members of the NCCF at Winston-Salem as LEE FAYE MACK did not want them to join. advised that LEE FAYE MACK is not actually a member of the BPP but helps them in many ways. advised that BATESTI, JESSE STITT, and ROBERT GREER are no longer members of the NCCF at Winston-Salem as all have quit. He stated that "TOOTSIE" CHRISS quit the NCCF group and her whereabouts is not known to him. He stated that DANIEL SMITH also gave up the BPP, and LARRY LITTLE and JULIUS CORNELL believe SMITH was helping the Police Department.

advised that, while he was in the NCCF at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, he went through the training program that all community workers go through after which he sold newspapers and talked to the people in the community about the BPP.

advised that JULIUS CORNELL had advised him that RICHARD CARTER and RONALD CARNES were no longer in Winston-Salem and offered no explanation as to their whereabouts. He advised that LARRY CAIN had left Winston-Salem after being caught in an unknown criminal act. He stated that CAIN and LARRY LITTLE



[REDACTED]

never did get along and at one time CAIN was going to complain to National Headquarters in Oakland, California, concerning the way in which the NCCF in Winston-Salem was being handled. [REDACTED] advised that he did not know if CAIN had made the complaint or not.

[REDACTED] advised that THERESA THOMAS, an ex-Black Panther member, had an argument with LARRY LITTLE after which she quit the NCCF.

[REDACTED] advised that, while he was a member of the NCCF at Winston-Salem, he had seen only a few guns around BPP headquarters which was located at 1602 East Fourteenth Street but had never noticed any hand grenades or any other explosive devices.

[REDACTED] stated that he had never informed to the Police Department concerning the NCCF.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that the Black people in the Black community no longer believe in the BPP

and the change has been through the leadership. [REDACTED] advised that LARRY LITTLE is no where near the leader that ROBERT GREER was.

nc [REDACTED] advised that he had not seen AUGUSTUS DART, DONALD SHORE or WILLIAM HAZENBY for several months and had no idea as to their whereabouts.

On [REDACTED] 1970, [REDACTED] reported that RUSSELL EDWARD MC DONALD and JAMES ARTHUR POWERS returned from the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention on December 3, 1970, and would make no statement other than that they will make a full report to the Black Panther Party group at Lumberton, North Carolina, at a later date.

[REDACTED] reported that RUSSELL MC DONALD is upset with the Black Panther Party because he had previously been told that if anything went wrong and he was captured by the police, the Black Panther Party would come to his assistance with money and legal help, which has not materialized in connection with his arrest for the shooting at the Urban Redevelopment Commission in Lumberton, North Carolina.

On [REDACTED] reported that LARRY LITTLE had made the statement that JANE FONDA, the actress, was on a fund raising campaign for the Black Panther Party in connection with her appearing in Durham, North Carolina, and that HUEY NEWTON is to come to North Carolina in the near future.

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105-165706-8-404 pages 15-16

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CE 157-6171

On November 27, 1970, information was received from [REDACTED], that the Black Panther Party Headquarters, 1602 East Fourteenth Street, caught on fire shortly after 1 p.m.

[REDACTED]

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 12/16/70

[REDACTED]  
advised the property at 1602 East 14th Street  
[REDACTED]

On that date the above listed residence was searched in the presence of [REDACTED] and the following items were obtained from the residence with [REDACTED] permission.

On 12/9/70 at Winston-Salem, N. C. File # Charlotte 157-6171-  
by SAs [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Date dictated 12/10/70  
[REDACTED] Ejjw

2.5

of or participation in the activity. To study and learn is good but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore it is very significant that the vanguard group must be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the black revolution in racist America.

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is prepared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the black community, the black population.

If it is learned by the power structure that black people have "x" amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to prepare itself with guns, because it is already more than prepared.

The end result of this education will be positive for Black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party machinery is to be effective. It is impossible to put together functional party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party.

The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational processes. How can you teach people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above



in the interests of the people and the future are filled with  
as the living thing of the future there be any personal  
interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that  
we would not discard?

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN  
XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

We must not become complacent over any success. We should  
check our complacency and constantly criticize our short-  
comings, just as we should wash our faces or sweep the floor  
every day to remove the dirt and keep them clean.

As for criticism, do it in good time; don't get into the habit  
of criticizing only after the event.

Taught by mistakes and setbacks, we have become wiser and han-  
dle our affairs better. It is hard for any political party  
or person to avoid mistakes, but we should make as few as  
possible. Once a mistake is made, we should correct it, and  
the more quickly and thoroughly the better.

### LIBERALISM

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship  
when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from prin-  
ciple argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow  
townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old  
colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter  
lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep  
on good terms. The result is that both the organization and  
the individual are harmed. This one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of  
actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization.  
To say nothing to people to their faces but to gossip behind  
their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip  
afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of  
collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This  
is a second type.

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally;  
to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well  
what is wrong, to be worldly wise and play safe and seek  
only to avoid blame. This is a third type.

Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own  
opinions. To demand special consideration from the organi-  
zation but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal  
spite or seek revenge instead of entering into the struggle  
and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or  
progress or getting the work done properly. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to  
hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them,  
but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened.  
This is a sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and  
agitation or stand at machines or conduct investigations and  
inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and  
show no concern for their well-being, saying that one is  
a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary man-  
ufacturer. This is a seventh type.

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN  
XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

MALCOLM X UNITED  
LIBERATION FRONT  
317 N. MACOMB STREET  
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32301



*Friday*  
*National Committee to Combat Terrorism*  
*1602 E. 14th St.*  
*Washington - D.C. 20005*

that it might take you the next  
23 years to finish paying for the  
house. If this government saw a need  
to build houses for people of low income,  
then the people should be able to pay for  
the house in a shorter length of time.  
They have it set up so that it takes almost  
the rest of your life to pay. This is  
just another way to oppress the people.  
Everyone knows that ~~with government~~  
housing is one of the basic needs of  
the people.

Explains deeper about the  
Exploitation of the People. Test 50  
1000 H. Deeper

On orders from the Ministry of Education, we have moved to take all troops back over the Ten Point Platform and Program, Three Main rules of Discipline, Motto, Cardinal Rules of the Party, and the Twenty-six General Rules. We are now having vigorous Political Education classes and we are trying to instill conscience discipline in the troops as far as their studies are concerned.

Technical Equipment classes are being intensified so that all troops will know how to operate and service weapons correctly to the fullest extent.

#### (Political Education Classes for the Community)

Political education classes for the community are held on Tuesday and Thursday nights from 7:00 until 9:00. Classes range from 5 to 30 people. Usually we will go over articles in the newspaper or some events that went down in the community. We're trying to get the people from the community P.M. classes to move to a higher level and take part in the programs for the people.

#### Existing Programs

At this time the only consistent program we have is the Free Breakfast for Children Program. The attendance is very poor at both sites. A lot of this can be attributed to school children having to catch buses so early in the morning. However, I think that we are going to have to move to intensify door to door work with the program. We are going to obtain more transportation for the children. This way they could avoid the school bus and still be assured of getting to school on time.

1. Handguns cont.

C. Balance of Power. Armed with any of the following piece the teaching of the pig, Newton, and the correct military tactics you will be more than a match for the pig.

1. 357 Mag. (this piece will crack an engine block on a car when loaded with armor piercing.)

2. .41 Mag.

3. .44 Mag.

2. SHOTGUNS AND RIFLES: (bolt action, pump, and semi automatic.) When acquiring rifles the military surplus or military style weapon is preferred due to the ease in which they can be taken apart, for maintenance and cleaning and simplicity of operation. Other factors that should be taken into consideration are repair parts and ammo. Odd Cal. weapons must be discouraged and stress should be placed on getting the cal. of weapons that the pigs will have ammo for.

1. Suicide Specials (little more effective than being hit by a fly.)

- a. 22 rifles (except the 22-250, .223, 22 Mag.)
- b. .410 Shotgun (this is a shotgun in name only as far as pigs are concerned. It shoots a shot about the size of babies.)

2. SHOTGUNS: Most effective short range weapon-rapid fire can produce machine gun effect. Automatics have been known to jam badly. A 6 or 7 shot 12 gauge pump is very effective. Only double 0 buckshot or rifle slugs should be used.

A. Short Barrels-----use OOB

- 1. 20 inches--2 1/2 inches effective up to 75 yds. (3/4 block)
- 2. 18 inches--shortest legal length that can be brought in gun store.
- 3. Sawed off--very effective for ripping off and close combat 0-25 yds (1/4 block)

B. Long Barrel-----OOB or Rifled slugs.

- 1. 26-28 inches--range 100 yds (one block)
- 2. 28-32 inches--pump guns effective up to 1 1/2 blocks.

3. RIFLES: Here we stress military type over civilian type. The military have a larger magazine capacity and hold more shells.

... Bolt actions: These should be equipped with scopes and used for special purpose weapons.

Lonnie---Continued . . . page 3

Then it began. "Kidnapping resulting in death" (a capital offense) -- Not guilty.

Lonnie, standing and facing the jury, grabbed the hand of his lawyer and waited for the next charge.

Conspiracy to kidnap (possible 30-year sentence) -- Not guilty.

Then it came: "Conspiracy to murder, what is your verdict?" "Guilty, your honor."

Gasps from the spectators. A jolt running through Lonnie's body, and a misadventure waiting for the final charge -- binding, which carries a 50-year penalty.

"Not guilty, your honor."

Then, while everyone was trying to understand what had happened, the judge was thanking the jury and setting Sept. 18 for Lonnie's sentencing (maximum penalty, 15 years in jail).

Did the jury, mostly white, middle class, middle-aged, despite the blatant collaboration of the prosecution and the judge, despite the flashing headlines in the big press, headlines which convicted Lonnie before he ever went on trial, want to completely acquit the Black Panther and put him back free, on the streets? Did the jury finally compromise because they were afraid they'd be kept sequestered until they did? Did they know that "conspiracy to murder" was the lightest of the charges?

The burst of questions on the New Haven Green when the verdict came down were stilled momentarily when the spirited crowd marched through downtown New Haven, demanding that all political prisoners be freed.

Lonnie still faces first degree murder charges in another county for the same incident. His lawyers will appeal this charge as double jeopardy. They also plan to appeal Lonnie's conviction. The other members of the New Haven 9, including Bobby Scale, must still stand trial this fall and winter, with Lonnie's conspiracy conviction on the books.

So, in the words of the Chip Smith Charge, the "doubt in the mind" of "a dissenting juror" was "a reasonable one" after all -- the government must be gnashing its teeth because all the machinery it put into motion wasn't enough to send Lonnie McCluskey to his death. All political prisoners and prisoners of war will be freed!

NEW HAVEN, Conn., Sept 18, AP -- Lonnie was sentenced to 12-to-15 years in prison today for his conviction of a charge of conspiracy to commit murder. (Maximum penalty was 15 years for the charge.) Bond was set at \$35,000.

ESSAYS FROM  
THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE  
HUTY P. NEWTON

IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

June 20, 1967

Laws and rules have always been made to serve people. Rules of society are set up by people so that they will be able to function in a harmonious way. In other words, in order to promote the general welfare of society, rules and laws are established by men. Rules should serve men, and not men serve rules. Much of the time, the laws and rules which officials attempt to inflict upon poor people are non functional in relation to the status of the poor in society.

These officials are blind to the fact that people should not respect that are not serving them. It is the duty of the poor to write and construct rules and laws that are in their better interests. This is one of the basic human rights of all men.

Before 1776, white people were colonized by the English. The English government had certain laws and rules that the colonized Americans viewed as not in their best interests but as a colonized people. At that time the English government felt that the colonized Americans had no right to establish laws to promote the general welfare of the people living here in America. The colonized American felt he had no choice but to raise the gun in defense of the welfare of the colonized people. At this time, he made certain laws insuring his protection from external and internal aggressions from governments and agencies. One such form of protection was the Declaration of Independence, which states: "...whenever any government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such forms as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Now these same colonized white people, these ex-slaves, robbers, and thieves, have denied the colonized black man the right to even speak of abolishing this oppressive system which the white colonized American created. They have carried their madness to the four corners of the earth, and now there is universal rebellion against their continued rule and power. The Black people in America are the only people who can free the world, loosen the yoke of colonialism and destroy the war machine. As long as the wheels of the imperialistic war machine are turning there is no country that can defeat this monster of the West. But Black people can make a malfunction of this machine from within. Black people can destroy the machinery that's enslaving the world. America cannot stand to fight every Black country in the world and fight a civil war at the same time. It is militarily impossible to do both of these things at once.

The slavery of Blacks in this country provides the oil for the machinery of war that America uses to enslave the peoples of the world.

Without this oil the machinery cannot function. We are the driving shaft; we are in such a strategic position in this machinery that, once once we become dislocated, the functioning of the remainder of the machinery breaks down.

Penned up in the ghettos of America, surrounded by his factories and all the physical components of his economic system, we have been made into "the wretched of the earth," who are relegated to the position of spectators while the white racists run their international con game on the suffering peoples. We have been brainwashed to believe that we are powerless and that there is nothing we can do for ourselves to bring about a speedy liberation for our people. We have been taught that we must please our oppressors, that we are only ten per cent of the population, and therefore, we must confine our tactics to categories calculated not to disturb the sleep of our tormentors.

The power structure inflicts pain and brutality upon the peoples and then provides controlled outlets for the pain in ways least likely to upset them or interfere with the process of exploitation. The people must repudiate the channels established as tricks and deceitful snares by the exploiting oppressors. The people must oppose everything the oppressor supports and support everything that he opposes. If Black people go about their struggle for liberation in the way that the oppressor dictates and sponsors, then we will have degenerated to the level of grovelling flunkies for the oppressor himself. When the oppressor makes a vicious attack against freedom fighters because of the way that such freedom fighters choose to go about their liberation, then we know we are moving in the direction of our liberation. The racist dog oppressors have no rights which oppressed Black people are bound to respect. As long as the racist dogs pollute the earth with the evil of their actions, they do not deserve any respect at all, and the rules of their game, written in the people's blood, are beneath contempt.

The oppressor must be harassed until his doom. He must have no peace by day or night. The slaves have always outnumbered the slave-masters. The power of the oppressor rests upon the submission of the people. When Black people really unite and rise up in all their splendid millions, they will have the strength to smash injustice. We do not understand the power in our numbers. We are millions and millions of Black people scattered across the continent and throughout the Western hemisphere. There are more Black people in America than the total population of many countries that now enjoy full membership in the United Nations. They have power and their power is based primarily on the fact that they are organized and united with each other. They are recognized by the powers of the world.

We, with all our numbers, are recognized by no one. In fact, we do not recognize our own selves. We are unaware of the potential



power latent in our numbers. In 1967, in the midst of a hostile racist nation whose hidden racism is rising to the surface at a phenomenal speed, we are still so blind to our critical fight for our very survival that we are continuing to function in petty, futile ways. Divided, confused, fighting among ourselves, we are still in the elementary stage of throwing rocks, sticks, empty wine bottles and beer cans at racist cops who lie in wait for a chance to murder unarmed Black people. The racist cops have worked out a system for suppressing these spontaneous rebellions that flare up from the anger, frustration, and desperation of the masses of Black people. We can no longer afford the dubious luxury of the terrible casualties wantonly inflicted upon us by the cops during these spontaneous rebellions.

Black people must now move, from the grassroots up through the perfumed circles of the Black bourgeoisie, to seize by any means necessary a proportionate share of the power vested and collected in the structure of America. We must organize and unite to combat by long resistance the brutal force used against us daily. The power structure depends upon the use of force within retaliation. This is why they have made it a felony to teach guerilla warfare. This is why they want the people unarmed.

The racist dog oppressor fears the armed people; they fear most of all Black people armed with weapons and the ideology of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. An unarmed people are slaves or are subject to slavery at any given moment. If a government is not afraid of the people it will arm the people from foreign aggression. Black people are held captive in the midst of their oppressors. There is a world of difference between thirty million unarmed, submissive Black people and thirty million Black people armed with freedom and defense guns and the strategic methods of liberation.

When a mechanic wants to fix a broken-down car engine, he must have the necessary tools to do the job. When the people move for liberation, they must have the basic tool of liberation; the gun. Only with the power of the gun can the Black masses halt the terror and brutality perpetuated against them by the armed racist power structure; and in one sense only by the power of the gun can the whole world be transformed into the earthly paradise dreamed of by the people from time immemorial. One successful practitioner of the art and science of national liberation and self defense, Brother Mao Tse-tung, put it this way: "We are the advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun."

The blood, sweat, tears and suffering of Black people are the foundations of the wealth and power of the United States of America. We were forced to build America, and if forced to, we will tear it down. The immediate result of this destruction will be suffering and bloodshed. But the end result will be the perpetual peace for all mankind.

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Historically, the power structure has demanded that Black leaders cater to their desires and to the ends of the imperialistic racism of the oppressor. The power structure has endorsed those Black leaders who have reduced themselves to nothing more than apologizing parrots. They have divided the so-called black leaders within the political arena. The oppressors sponsor radio programs, give space in their racist newspapers, and have shown them luxury enjoyed only by the oppressor. The Black leaders serve the oppressor by purposely keeping the people submissive and passive - non-violent. At any moment that these so-called Black leaders respond to the cries of the suffering and downtrodden, a unemployed and welfare recipients who hunger for liberation by any means necessary.

Historically, there have been a few Black men who have rejected the handouts of the oppressor and who have refused to spread the oppressor's treacherous principles of deceit, gradual indoctrination and brainwashing, and who have refused to indulge in the criminal activity of teaching submission, fear, and love for an enemy who hates the very color black and is determined to commit genocide on an international scale.

There has always existed in the Black colony of Afro-America a fundamental difference over which tactics from the broad spectrum of alternatives Black people should employ in their struggle for national liberation.

One side of this difference contends that Black people are in the peculiar position where, in order to gain acceptance into the "mainstream" of American life, they must employ no tactic that will anger the oppressor whites. This view holds that Black people constitute a hopeless minority and that salvation for Black people lies in developing brotherly relations. There are certain tactics that are taboo. Violence against the oppressor must be avoided at all costs because the oppressor will retaliate with superior violence. So Black people may protest, but not protect. They can complain, but not cut and shoot. In short, Black people must at all cost remain non-violent.

On the other side of the difference, we find that the point of departure is the principle that the oppressor has no rights that the oppressed is bound to respect. Kill the slavemaster, destroy him utterly, move against him with implacable fortitude. Break his oppressive power by any means necessary. Men who have stood before the Black masses and recommended this response to the oppression have been held in fear by the oppressor. The Blacks in the colony who were led to the non-violent alternative could not relate to the advocates of implacable opposition to the oppressor. Because the oppressor always prefers to deal with the less radical, i.e., less dangerous, spokesmen for his subjects. He would prefer that his subjects had no spokesmen at all, or better yet, he wishes to speak for them himself. Unable to do this practically, he does the next best thing, and endorses spokesmen who will allow him to speak through them to the masses. Paramount amongst his imperatives is to see to it that implacable spokesmen are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. Their oppressor will resort to any means necessary to silence the implacables.

The oppressor will resort to any means necessary to silence the implacables.

The oppressor, endorsed spokesman, and the implacables form the three points of a triangle of death. The oppressor looks upon the endorsed spokesman as a tool to use against the implacables to keep the masses passive within the acceptable limits of the tactics he is capable of containing. The endorsed spokesmen look upon the oppressor as a guardian angel who can always be depended upon to protect them from the wrath of the implacables, while he looks upon the implacables as dangerous and irresponsible madmen who, by angering the oppressor, will certainly provoke a blood bath in which they themselves might get washed away. The implacables view both the oppressors and endorsed leaders as his deadly enemies. If any thing, he has a more profound hatred for the endorsed leaders than he has for the oppressor himself, because the implacables know that they can deal with the oppressor only after they have driven the endorsed spokesman off the scene.

Historically, the endorsed spokesman have always held the upper hand on the implacables. In Afro-American history, there are shining brief moments when the implacables have outmaneuvered the oppressor and the endorsed spokesman and gained the attention of the Black masses. The Black masses, recognizing the implacables in the depths of their despair, respond magnetically to the implacables and bestow a devotion and loyalty to them that frightens the oppressor and endorsed spokesman into a panic-stricken frenzy, and they leap into a rash act-- murder, imprisonment, or exile -- to silence the implacables and to get their show back on the road.

The masses of Black people have always been deeply entrenched and involved in the basic necessities of life. They have not had time to abstract their situation. Abstractions come only with leisure. The people have not had the luxury of leisure. Therefore, the people have been very aware of the true definition of politics: politics are merely the desire of individuals and groups to satisfy first, their basic needs -- food, shelter and clothing, and security for themselves and their loved ones.

The Black leaders endorsed by the power structure attempted to sell the people the simple-minded theory that politics is holding a political office; being able to move into a \$40,000 home; being able to eat in a restaurant while in fact the Black masses have not been able to pay the rent of a \$40.00 rat-infested hovel).

The Black leaders have led the community to believe that brutality and force could be ended by subjecting the people to this very force of self-sacrificing demonstrations. The Black people realize brutality and force can only be inflicted if there is submission. The community has not responded in the past or in the present to the absurd and erroneous, deceitful tactics of so-called legitimate Black leaders. The community realizes that force and brutality can only be eliminated by counter force through self defense. Leaders who have recommended these tactics have never had the support and following of the downtrodden Black masses who comprise the bulk of the community. Brass roots-- the downtrodden of the Black community, even though they rejected the handpicked handkerchief heads.

kerchief heads endorsed by the power structure the people have not had the academic or administrative knowledge to form themselves in long resistance to the brutality.

Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X were the two Black men of the twentieth century who posed an implacable challenge to both the oppressor and the endorsed spokesman that could be dealt with in any other way than precisely the foul manner recorded by history. Malcolm, in our time, stood on the threshold with the oppressor and the endorsed spokesman in a way that they couldn't get out of. Malcolm, implacable to the ultimate degree, held out to the Black masses the historical, stupendous victory of Black collective salvation and liberation from the chains of the oppressor and the treacherous embrace of the endorsed spokesman. Only with the gun were the Black masses denied this victory. But they learned from Malcolm that with the gun, they can recapture their dreams and bring them into reality.

The heirs of Malcolm now stand millions strong on their corner of the triangle, facing the racist dog oppressor and the soulless endorsed spokesman. The heirs of Malcolm have picked up the gun and taking first things first are moving to expose the endorsed spokesman for the Black masses to see them for what they are and always have been. The choice offered by the heirs of Malcolm to the endorsed spokesman is to repudiate the oppressor and to crawl back to their people and earn a speedy reprieve or face a merciless, speedy and most timely execution for treason and being too wrong for too long.

**POLITICAL EDUCATION KIT  
for Black Panther Party Members**

**Primary Objective Objective of Our Party:  
To Establish Revolutionary Political Power  
for Black People**

The Black Panther is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at the present, the Black Panther Party should certainly not confine itself to only fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, our Party must also shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming Black people, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up party organizations. The Black Panther Party defends itself with guns and force not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organizing them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Black Panther Party loses the reason for its existence.

**MAXIMAL RULE: Have Faith in the People and Faith in the Party**

**NOTE: We Do not Want War. We Are The Advocates of the Abolition of War, But War Can Only Be Abolished through War, and in order to get rid of the Gun, It Is Necessary to Pick Up the Gun**

**All Power to the People  
Black Power to Black People**

To go to someone harming the interests of the masses and yet  
feel indignant, or dissuade him or reason with him,  
but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction;  
to work perfunctorily and muddle along---"So long as one remains  
a monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the  
revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain  
minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks,  
to be slopshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth  
type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to  
correct them, taking a liberal attitude toward oneself.  
This is an eleventh type.

TOWARD A NEW CONSTITUTION

by

Hucy P. Newton

WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BANDS WHICH HAVE CONNECTED THEM WITH ANOTHER, AND TO ASSUME THE POWERS OF THE EARTH, THE SEPARATE AND EQUAL STATION TO WHICH THE LAWS OF NATURE AND OF NATURE'S GOD ENTITLE THEM, A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND REQUIRES THAT THEY SHOULD DECLARE THE CAUSES WHICH IMPEL THEM TO SEPARATE.

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED. THAT WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS, IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTER OR ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING ITS FOUNDATION ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZING ITS POWERS IN SUCH FORM, AS TO THEM SHALL SEEM MOST LIKELY TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS. PRUDENCE, INDEED, WILL DICTATE THAT GOVERNMENTS LONG ESTABLISHED SHOULD NOT BE CHANGED FOR LIGHT AND TRANSIENT CAUSES, AND ACCORDINGLY ALL EXPERIENCE HATH SHOWN, THAT MANKIND ARE MORE DISPOSED TO SUFFER, WHILE EVILS ARE SUFFERABLE, THAT TO RIGHT THEMSELVES BY ABOLISHING THE FORMS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED. INVARIABLY THE SAME OBJECT EVINCES A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, IT IS THEIR RIGHT, IT IS THEIR DUTY, TO THROW OFF SUCH GOVERNMENT, AND TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY.

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

Plenary Session

Workshop: Control and Use of the Educational System

1. Liberation schools set-up for pre-school age children
2. Entering school with a political consciousness
3. Community control of schools:
  - a. Parents controlling curriculum
  - b. Community elected board officers
  - c. Power to hire and fire teachers belongs to community elected board
4. Intellectual and cultural education shall be available to all persons:
  - a. Education will deal with the means of survival of the various portions of society
  - b. Education for students will deal with the student as an individual
  - c. The workings of the system of political education should be taught for constant political consciousness
  - d. Schools and institutes will make advanced study available free to any person
  - e. The schools will encourage all persons to expand and realize their creative aspirations. It will especially encourage study in socialist society, human survival, and the truth and workings of the present society

Students' Rights

1. Students in any school will have the right to freedom of speech, dress, and assembly
2. Student government should be controlled by the students
  - a. No rules set-up for who runs for office, ex., grades, conduct, politics, participation in other activities
  - b. Student controlled press (paper), student board to decide what goes in paper and what does not go in
  - c. Freedom to assembly whenever problems arise that the students feel should be solved collectively on a face to face basis
  - d. Student activities not mandatory
  - e. Assemblies left to student decision in accordance with what they feel to be relevant in what things directly relate to them
  - f. No guards in schools for any reason. Community and students will deal with all problems, major or minor
  - g. Students decide their courses according to what they want and think they need. No set curriculum. Courses will be fit to students, not students to the courses
  - h. New grading system established.

All Power to the People!

We the people believe that education should serve the people. It should expose the true nature of this society. Education should assist in teaching us our socialist ideas, and stand as a basis for our socialist practice.

The power of education should and will belong in the hands of the people. We believe that education plays a major role in this system of programming. So we the people must penetrate and seize this tool of the power structure and turn it into a weapon to be used against it.



STATEMENT OF DEMANDS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
FROM THE MALE REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL GAY LIBERATION

WE DEMAND:

1. THE RIGHT TO BE GAY ANYTIME, ANYPLACE.
2. THE RIGHT TO FREE PHYSIOLOGICAL CHANGE AND MODIFICATION OF SEX UPON DEMAND.
3. THE RIGHT OF FREE DATES AND ADORNMENT.
4. THAT ALL MODES OF HUMAN SEXUAL SELF-EXPRESSION DESERVE PROTECTION OF THE LAW, AND SOCIAL SANCTION.
5. EVERY CHILD'S RIGHT TO DEVELOP IN A NON-SEXIST, NON-POSSSSIVE ATMOSPHERE, WHICH IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL PEOPLE TO CREATE.
6. THAT A FREE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM PRESENT THE ENTIRE RANGE OF HUMAN SEXUALITY, WITHOUT ADVOCATING ANY ONE FORM OR STYLE; THAT SEX ROLES AND SEX DETERMINED SKILLS BE NOT FORCED BY THE SCHOOLS.
7. THAT LANGUAGE BE MODIFIED SO THAT NO CENTER TAKE PRIORITY.
8. THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM BE RUN BY THE PEOPLE THRU PEOPLE'S COURTS; THAT ALL PEOPLE BE TRIED BY MEMBERS OF THEIR PEER GROUP.
9. THAT GAYS BE REPRESENTED IN ALL GOVERNMENTAL AND COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS.
10. THAT ORGANIZED RELIGIONS BE COMPELLED FOR AIDING IN THE GENOCIDE OF GAY PEOPLE, AND ENJOINED FROM TEACHING HATRED AND SUPERSTITION.
11. THAT PSYCHIATRY AND PSYCHOLOGY BE DEBUNKED FROM ADVOCATING A PREFERENCE FOR ANY FORM OF SEXUALITY, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THAT PREFERENCE BY SHOCK TREATMENT, BRAINWASHING, DEPRIVATION, ETC.
12. THE ABOLITION OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY BECAUSE IT PERPETUATES THE FALSE CATEGORIES OF HOMOSEXUALITY AND HETEROSEXUALITY.
13. THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF AND PARDONS FOR GAY AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS FROM PRISONS AND MENTAL INSTITUTIONS. THE SUPPORT BY GAY POLITICAL PRISONERS OF ALL OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS.
14. THAT GAYS DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES.
15. THAT ALL PEOPLE SHARE EQUALLY THE LABOR AND PRODUCTS OF SOCIETY, REGARDLESS OF SEX OR SEXUAL ORIENTATION.
16. THAT TECHNOLOGY BE USED TO LIBERATE ALL PEOPLES OF THE WORLD FROM DEPRIVATION.
17. THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF GAYS IN THE PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.
18. FINALLY, THE END OF DOMINATION OF ONE PERSON BY ANOTHER.

GAY POWER TO GAY PEOPLE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

CHANGE THE TIME

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

THE REVOLUTION WILL NOT BE COMPLETE UNTIL ALL MEN ARE FREE TO EXPRESS THEIR LOVE FOR ONE ANOTHER SEXUALLY. WE AFFIRM THE SEXUALITY OF OUR LOVE. THE SOCIAL INSTITUTION WHICH PREVENTS US ALL FROM EXPRESSING OUR TOTAL REVOLUTIONARY LOVE, WE DENY AS SEXISM.

SEXISM IS A POLICY OR PRACTICE THAT THE SEX OR SEXUAL ORIENTATION OF INDIVIDUALS STANDS TO SOLELY THE RIGHT TO CERTAIN PRIVILEGES, POWERS, OR JOBS, WHILE DENYING TO OTHERS THEIR FULL POTENTIAL. WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF OUR SOCIETY, SEXISM IS FUNDAMENTALLY ASSOCIATED WITH WHITE SUPREMACY AND HETEROSEXUAL ORIENTATION. SINCE IN THE SHORT RUN SEXISM REINFORCES CERTAIN PARTIES OR GROUPS, IN THE LONG RUN IT CANNOT SAVE ALL THE PEOPLE, AND THEREFORE THE FORMING OF COMPLETE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG STRAIGHT MEN.

SEXISM IS INHUMAN, UNJUST AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY. SEXISM PREVENTS THE REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLE.

WE DEMAND THAT THE STRuggle AGAINST SEXISM BE ACKNOWLEDGED AS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRuggle. WE DEMAND THAT ALL REVOLUTIONARIES DEAL INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY, WITH THEIR OWN SEXISM.

WE RECOGNIZE AS A VANGUARD REVOLUTIONARY ACTION THE MARY P. BILTON STATEMENT ON GAY LIBERATION. WE RECOGNIZE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AS BEING THE VANGUARD OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION IN AMERICA.

NO REVOLUTION WITHOUT US.

AN ARMY OF LOVERS CANNOT LOSE.

ALL THE POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
The ~~Asian~~ ~~people~~ of I Wor Kye want a ~~total~~ ~~support~~ to all our Third  
world ~~brothers~~ ~~and~~ ~~sisters~~ ~~in~~ ~~Southeast~~ ~~Asia~~. We want ~~to~~ ~~show~~ ~~that~~ ~~all~~ ~~people~~ ~~of~~ ~~color~~ ~~throughout~~ ~~the~~ ~~world~~ ~~are~~  
oppressed by the racist big american system. And we see that all our struggles lead  
to one common goal: the total destruction of the american fascist state.

Asian peoples are well familiar with the methods of fascist repression and enslavement. Asians within America are a colonized people. Ever since the 1800's when we have been kidnapped, imprisoned, and tricked into coming to this so-called mountain of gold, Asian-Americans have suffered all possible forms of oppression under this capitalist system. Chinese were brought to California to work as forced laborers in railroads, mines, swamps, plantations and cities of the white imperialists. By 1890 from rail-  
road and land reclamation projects alone, Chinese people were responsible for \$250,000, that the state of California stole from the people. Not only did these horny pigs steal from us but they did everything else conceivable to oppress us. Asians have been beaten, murdered and humiliated by mobs of racist white dogs. When we finished building up the west, the hordes of greedy expansionist white people crowded into California and forced us into isolated urban ghettos where we have had to struggle for a meager existence ever since.

This country's racist treatment of Asian people reached new heights, of brutality during the second world war when hundreds of thousands of innocent Japanese men women and child were forced into concentration camps. In the name of protection of democracy the fascist pigs considered before Congress a law to castrate all Japanese males.

In the midst of all this oppression it is easy to see why so much false and dispicable racist stereotypes against yellow people had developed. Because yellow people were forced to enslave themselves through economic necessity to the most degrading and humili-  
ating work as domestics, kitchen gardeners and the worst of all, as houseboys, many people say that Asians are passive and have not struck back against this avaricious monster. But history has shown and will continue to show that we have a long record of dealing with pigs. Because we have had no constitutional rights as human beings, whites have constantly invaded our communities to vent their racist insecurities by brutalizing yellow people. But it was not long before we picked up the gun and chased these renegade dogs out, warning them notice that their next exit would be in a pine box. This struggle of day to day survival goes on unceasingly. Working class Asians, who emigrate from other imperialist colonies abroad have faced such tremendous ex-  
ploitation there, that they are fooled by the lies of which the U.S. imperialist lackey dangles in their faces. Upon arrival in this country, they face the naked reality of isolation, economical exploitation, psychological castration and political disenfranchi-  
ment enforced by the gestapo FBI and its lackey international mafioso running dog Chiang Kai-shek rearing regime within our own communities.

Asians in this country understand that our oppression is no different from the systematic killing and robbing of colored peoples in the U.S. and around the world. Unable to win in Vietnam and Laos, the U.S. aggressors brazenously engineered the reactionary coup d'etat by the Lon Nol Clique, brazenly dispatched their troops to invade Cambodia and resume the bombing of North Vietnam and this has aroused the furious resistance of the three Indo-Chinese peoples. U.S. Imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-bed struggle. Asians, like our Third world brothers and sisters, understand that this monster is the perpetra-  
tor of the most hideous crime against us people of color such as Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to which we are sworn to avenge.

Following the standard of revolutionary China, we join the liberation struggles of our brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia. History has shown that this country has long kept in mind its ability to exterminate an entire race of people with concentration camps and methods of mass execution. Such camps exist and are ever ready for us. Pig, J. Edgar Hoover has long stated that every yellow

perman is a threat to the security of this country. Asians in fascist America have no doubt that the fascist persecution against our brothers in Asia will soon end with us as well. The treatment of Japanese during World War II is but a warning to the bloodbath that will occur the next time. We have stated before and we state again that we will not submit to any fascist slaughter without a fight. The only way to prevent this bloodbath is the destruction of the American fascist system with all possible speed. As brother Huey P. Newton, Minister of the Black Panther Party who sees the survival of black people dependent upon the speediest destruction of this pig system, it is clear to us in I Wor Kuen that all oppressed peoples must unite and deal a death blow to this fascist system.

I Wor Kuen feels that there are many contradictions among the people with regard to the racist attitudes towards our brothers and sisters. As brother Huey states, "we recognize our brothers liberation struggle as our own can we bring about the speediest possible destruction of the American fascist state. Because of the racist stereotypes which this system has forced upon us Asians as well as our Third World brothers and sisters and to the Americas non revolutionary people and find it hard to relate to revolutionary China which actively support the world wide struggle against our common enemy. The division within the Third World racist attitudes towards each other must be . . . of struggle against and removed in order to achieve true Third World unity which is essential for the revolution. It is the spirit of the internationalism from which every revolutionary must learn. Leninism teaches that the world revolution can only succeed if all Third World Peoples support each other's liberation struggle in the colonies and semi colonies. The revolutionaries must put this line into practice. We must educate this concept to our peoples. This is our internationalism, the internationalism which opposes both narrow minded racism and narrow minded nationalism. People of the World unite and defeat U.S. aggressor and all its running dogs. Unity is Strength

Chairman Mao and Chairman Bobby

in solidarity.

I Wor Kuen ( Righteous Harmonious  
Fist)  
24 Market St., New York city, N.Y.

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES' CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
PLANNING SESSION

Workshop: Control and Use of Military and Police  
Reggie

Proposals on the Military

1. National defense shall be provided by a system of peoples' militia trained in guerrilla warfare, on a voluntary basis and consisting of both men and women.
2. The U.S. shall not maintain a standing army, since historically a standing army has been used for offensive actions against the people of the United States and around the world.
3. No genocidal weapons shall be manufactured or used.
4. All presently existing offensive equipment and installations shall be made inoperable and unservicable for its original purpose.
5. The people shall be educated and informed on the action of the militia, and all records shall be open to the public.
6. The government shall be prohibited from sending any personnel, funds, or equipment to any nation for military or police purposes. It should also be prohibited from spending more than 10% of the national budget for any military or police purposes. This can be overridden by a majority vote in a national referendum.
7. No person shall serve full-time in the militia; those serving in the militia shall be paid a fair wage.
8. Militia members shall be governed by the laws of the community in which they serve (or governed by the laws of the nation??)
9. National defense shall be provided by a system of peoples' militias.
10. There shall be no conscription for any armed forces.
11. No peoples' militia shall be stationed outside national boundaries.
12. Government people and military personnel should be defined as one and the same, and not as separate entities in or of the power structure.
13. The people shall have the right to bear arms.
  - a. No citizen shall be prohibited the possession, control or purchase of small arms without the due process of the law.
  - b. Free programs shall be set-up in the training and use of small arms.

Organization, Use of, and Control of the Police

1. The police force shall be a rotating volunteer non-professional body co-ordinated by the Police Control Board from a (weekly) list of volunteers from each community section. The Police Control Board, its policies, as well as the police leadership, shall be chosen by direct popular majority vote of the community.
2. There shall not be set-up, or permitted to exist, a national body of police, or secret body of police, nor shall un-uniformed police be permitted to exist.
3. Any citizen can bring charges against any member or officer of the police force before the Control Board, and the Control Board

- shall have the power to relieve that member or officer of the police force of his or her duty.
4. Community Police Councils may set-up working relations and exchange information with police forces in other communities.
5. The purpose of the people's police force shall be to serve and protect the community.
6. No person can serve on both the police force and the Control Board at the same time.
7. Any member of the Control Board can be removed by direct, popular vote of the people.
8. Funds for community police force and for the community's Control Board shall be provided for by national government under direction of local Control Board.

## REVOLUTIONARY ART

THE WORKSHOP ON THE REVOLUTIONARY ARTS AND ARTIST HEREBY  
SUBMIT THE FOLLOWING DECLARATION TO THE PLENARY SESSION OF  
THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION:

WE RECOGNIZE;

1. THAT ALL PEOPLE ARE BORN WITH A CREATIVE POTENTIAL AND THAT  
THE SOCIETY MUST GUARANTEE THAT EVERY PERSON HAS THE OPPOR-  
TUNITY TO DEVELOP AND EXPRESS THAT POTENTIAL.
2. THAT ART IS A CREATIVE EXPRESSION OF A PEOPLE'S CULTURE OR  
WAY OF LIFE.
3. WE RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF EVERY PEOPLE'S CULTURE TO ITS FORM  
OF EXPRESSION AND THAT THOSE FORMS OF EXPRESSIONS SHOULD BE  
PRESERVED, ENCOURAGED AND DEVELOPED.
4. WE RECOGNIZE THAT ART SHOULD BE RELATED TO THE INTERESTS,  
NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

HUMAN RIGHTS TO THE  
PERMANENT SESSION

Friends and comrades throughout the United States and throughout the world, we gather here in peace and friendship to claim our inalienable rights, to claim the rights bestowed upon us by an unbroken train of abuses and usurpations, and to perform the duty which is thus required of us. Our sufferance has been long and patient, our patience has stayed this final hour, but our human dignity and strength requires that we still the voice of patience with the cry of our sufferance. Then we gather in the spirit of revolutionary love and friendship for all oppressed people of the world regardless of their race or the race and doctrine of their oppressors. We gather to proclaim to the world that for 200 years we have suffered this long train of abuses and usurpations while looking to the hope that this would pass. We recognize however, that it has now passed and we are a people who enjoy no equal protection of the law, and our future action must be guided by our sufferance, and not by our patience.

Two centuries ago when the United States was a new nation, created by the men and dedicated to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the conditions which prevailed in the nation, and the assumptions upon which its foundations were built, were such that they ensured the United States would come to its maturity under circumstances which meant that for a substantial proportion of its citizens' life in nothing more than a prison of poverty, and the only happiness we enjoy is the longing to keep from crying.

The United States of America was born at a time when the nation covered relatively little land, a narrow strip of political divisions on the Eastern seaboard. The United States of America was born at a time when the population was small and fairly homogeneous both racially and culturally. Thus the people called Americans were a different people in a different place. Furthermore, they had a different economic system. The small population and the fertile land available meant that with the agricultural emphasis of the economy, people were able to advance according to their motivation and ability. It was an agricultural economy and with the circumstances surrounding it, Democratic Capitalism flourished in the new nation.

The following years were to see this new nation rapidly develop into a multi-limbed giant. The new nation acquired land and spread from a narrow strip on the eastern seaboard to cover the entire continent with but few exceptions. The new nation acquired a population to fill this newly acquired land. This population was drawn from the continents of Africa, Asia, Europe and South America. Thus a nation conceived by homogeneous people of a small number and in a small area grew into a nation of a heterogeneous people, comprising a large number, and spread across an entire continent. This change in the fundamental characteristics of the nation and its people substantially changed the nature of American society. Furthermore, the social changes were marked by economic changes. A rural and agricultural economy became an urban and industrialized economy, as farming was replaced by manufacturing. The Democratic Capitalism of our early days became caught up in a relentless drive to obtain profits until the selfish motivation for profit eclipsed the unselfish principles of democracy. Thus 200 years later we have an overdeveloped economy which is so infused with the need for profit that we have replaced Democratic Capitalism with Bureaucratic Capitalism. The free opportunity of all men to pursue their economic ends has been replaced by constraints placed upon Americans by the large corporations which control and direct our economy. They have sought to increase their profits at the expense of the people, and particularly at the expense of the racial and ethnic minorities.

The history of the United States, no distinguished from the promise of the idea of the United States leads us to the conclusion that our sufferance is basic to the functioning of the government of the United States. We see this when we note the basic contradictions found in the history of this nation. The government, the social conditions, and the legal documents which brought freedom from oppression, which brought human dignity and human rights to one portion of the people of this nation had entirely opposite consequences from another portion of the people. While the majority group achieved their basic human



rights, the minorities achieved liberation from the hands of their fathers and slavery. The evidence for this is clear and incontrovertible.

We find evidence for majority freedom and minority oppression in the fact that the expansion of the United States government and the acquisition of lands was at the unjust expense of the American Indians, the original possessors of the land and with its legitimate claim. The long search of the "Trail of Tears" and the actual disappearance of many other Indian nations testifies to the unwillingness and inability of this government and this government's constitution to incorporate racial minorities.

We find evidence for majority freedom and minority oppression in the fact that even while the early settlers were proclaiming their freedom they were deliberately and systematically depriving Africans of their freedom. These basic contradictions were further exacerbated by acts which implicitly admitted that the majority was wrong, but unwilling to do right. Thus when the Declaration of Independence was drafted the Founding Fathers struck all mention of the slave trade. Thus when the United States Constitution was drafted the Founding Fathers considered the slave as equivalent to 3/5 of a man. Thus when the slaves were emancipated the descendants of the Founding Fathers compromised that freedom to gain further territory. These compromises were so basic to the thinking of our forebears that legal attempts to correct the contradictions through constitutional amendments and Civil Rights laws have produced no change in our condition and we are still a people without equal protection and due process of law. We recognize then that the oppressive acts of the United States government when contrasted with the tenets of freedom, carried forward a basic contradiction found in all the legal documents upon which this government is based.

Generation after generation of the majority group have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in the life, liberty and happiness of their children and grandchildren. Generation after generation of Black people in America have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in the life, liberty and happiness of the children and grandchildren of their oppressors, while their own descendants wallow in the mire of poverty and deprivation, holding only to the hope of change in the future. This hope has sustained us for many years and has led us to suffer the indignities of a corrupt government. At the dawn of the 20th Century this hope led us to formulate a Civil Rights movement in the belief that this government would eventually fulfill its promise to Black people. We did not recognize, however, that any attempt to complete the promise of an 18th Century Revolution in the framework of a 20th Century government, economy and society was doomed to failure. The descendants of that small company of white settlers of this land are not among the common people of today, they have become a small ruling class in control of a worldwide economic system. The constitution set up by their ancestors to serve the people no longer serves the people, if the people have changed. The people of the 18th Century have become the ruling class of the 20th Century, and the people of the 20th Century are the descendants of the slaves and dispossessed of the 18th Century. The constitution set up to serve the people of the 18th Century now serves the ruling class of the 20th Century, and the people of today stand waiting for a foundation of their own life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. The Civil Rights Movement has not produced this foundation, and it cannot produce this foundation because of the nature of the United States society and economy. The vision of the Civil Rights Movement is to achieve goals which have been altered by 200 years of change. Thus the Civil Rights Movement and similar movements have produced no foundation for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They have produced humiliating programs of welfare and unemployment compensation, programs with sufficient form to deceive the people, but with insufficient substance to change the fundamental distribution of power and resources in this country.

Moreover, while these movements attempt to get minorities into the system, we note that the government continues its pattern of practices which contradict its democratic rhetoric. We recognize now that we see history repeating itself, but on an international as well as a national scale. The relentless drive for profit led this nation to colonies, oppress and exploit its minorities. This profit drive led this nation from democratic capitalism and underdevelopment, to bureaucratic capitalism and overdeveloped industry. Now we see that this small ruling class continues its profit drive by oppressing and exploiting the peoples of the world. Throughout the world the European proletariat is crushed so that the profits of American industry can continue to flow. Throughout the world the freedom struggles of a

people are oppressed by this government because they are a threat to bureaucratic capitalism in the United States of America.

We gather here to let it be known at home and abroad that a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness has in its maturity become an imperialist power dedicated to death, oppression and the pursuit of profits. We will not be deceived by so many of our fellow men, we will not be blinded by small changes in form which have any change in the substance of imperialist expansion. Our suffering has been too long, our sacrifices have been too great, and our human dignity is too strong for us to be prudent any longer.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM AND THE POWER TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.  
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR AN END TO THE CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION OF OUR COMMUNITY.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR DECENT HOUSING FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A TRUE EDUCATION OF OUR PEOPLE.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR EXEMPTION FROM MILITARY SERVICE.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR AN END TO POLICE BRUTALITY.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FAIR TRIALS FOR ALL MEN BY A JURY OF THEIR PEERS.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A UNITED NATIONS PLEDISCITE TO DETERMINE THE WILL OF BLACK PEOPLE AS TO THEIR NATIONAL DESTINY.

Black people and oppressed people in general have lost faith in the leaders of America, in the government of America, and in the very structure of American government--that is the Constitution, its legal foundation. This loss of faith is based upon the overwhelming evidence that this government will not live according to that constitution because the constitution is not designed for its people. For this reason we assemble a constitutional convention to consider rational and positive alternatives. Alternatives which will place their emphasis on the common man. Alternatives which will bring about a new economic system in which the rewards as well as the work will be equally shared by all people--a Socialist framework. Alternatives which will guarantee that within the Socialist framework all groups will be adequately represented in the decision-making and administration which affects their lives. Alternatives which will guarantee that all men will attain their full manifold rights, that they will be able to live, be free, and reach out those goals which give them respect and dignity while permitting the same privileges for every other man regardless of his condition or status.

The sacredness of man and of the human spirit requires that human dignity and integrity ought to be always respected by every other man. We will settle for nothing less, for at this point in history anything less is but a living death. WE WILL BE FREE and we are here to ordain a new constitution which will ensure our freedom by enshrining the dignity of the human spirit.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

"IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE:  
THE CORRECT HANDLING OF A REVOLUTION."

Most human behavior is learned behavior. Most things the human being learns are gained through an indirect relationship to the object. Humans do not act from instinct as lower animals do. These things learned indirectly many times stimulate very effective responses than what might be later a direct experience. At this time the black masses are handling the resistance incorrectly. The brothers in East Oakland learned from Watts a means of resistance fighting by smashing the people in the streets, throwing bricks and molotov cocktails to destroy property and create disruption. The brothers and sisters in the streets were herded into a small area by the gestapo police and immediately contained by the brutal violence of the oppressor's storm troops. This manner of resistance is sporadic, short-lived, and costly in violence against the people. This method has been transmitted to all the ghettoes of the black nation across the country. This first man who threw a molotov cocktail is not personally known by the masses, but yet the action was respected and followed by the people.

The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party are respected by the people, the people will follow the example. This is the primary job of the party. This knowledge will probably be gained second-hand by the masses just as the above mentioned was gained indirectly. When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going into the streets in large numbers, and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerrilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example.

But first, they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the night of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance. It is not necessary to organize thirty million Black people in primary groups of two's and three's but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution. During slavery, in which no vanguard party existed and forms of communication were severely restricted and insufficient, many slave revolts occurred.

There are basically three ways one can learn: through study, through observation, and through actual experience. The black community is basically composed of activists. The community learns through activity, either through observation

Winston-Salem, North Carolina, NCPC Office Burnt By The  
Fascists In An Attempt To Prevent The Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the NCPC and the people of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On November 27, approximately 60 members of the NCPC and the community left Winston-Salem at noon on their way to Washington, D.C. They were travelling in a hired truck and three cars. Soon after they started on their journey mechanical problems developed with the truck. At Henderson, North Carolina at 4p.m. they were forced to pull off the road and as they did this the front tire of the truck came off. On investigation, knife marks were found on the tire and the people of the community confirmed that unknown persons were seen around the truck prior to the commencement of the journey.

At 5 p.m. they telephoned Winston-Salem and were then informed that the NCPC headquarters had been burnt down. A member of the NCPC reported that he was in the front office when he smelt smoke. He went to the back and saw a blaze which he tried to put out but was unsuccessful. Eyewitness reports state that something had been thrown into the office.

The fire Department arrived and instead of trying to stop the fire went forward to destroy the office. The local pigs also arrived and confiscated the files and other supplies. They would have taken everything if they had not been prevented by the people of the community who had converged on the office.

On receiving this information, the people who were stranded in Henderson left the truck and contacted E. Whitmore Inc. to have it repaired. The truck was towed away and left on the road by E. Whitmore, Inc. who stated that it could not be repaired. The FBI, state and local pigs converged on the truck, first informing the occupants that the NCPC in Winston-Salem had been destroyed and then proceeded in their usual brutal manner to conduct a search for weapons.

The people then contacted Hertz in Greensboro to see if they would repair the truck. Hertz informed them that they had been contacted by the FBI who told them they were not to repair the truck. The people themselves repaired the truck and were able to leave at 4 a.m. on their way to the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

It is obvious that this was a planned attempt by the fascist pigs to prevent the people of Winston-Salem from participating in the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

We call upon the oppressed peoples of our Communities under siege here in Babylon to liberate our community in Washington D.C. in order that the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention might take place. We call for mobilization for survival until we are able to join the other peoples of the world who have liberated their communities and go forward to implement intercommunalism.

**All Power To The People**

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**  
November 28, 1970

Winston-Salem, North Carolina, NCCF Office Burnt By The  
Fascist Pigs In An Attempt To Prevent The Revolutionary Peoples  
Constitutional Convention From Taking Place

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the NCCF and the people of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

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The people then contacted Hertz in Greensboro to see if they would repair the truck. Hertz informed them that they had been contacted by the FBI who told them they were not to repair the truck. The people themselves repaired the truck and were able to leave at 4 a.m. on their way to the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

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**All Power To The People**

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**  
November 28, 1970

Winston-Salem, North Carolina, NCCF Office Burned By The  
Fascist Pigs  
November 27, 1970

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On receiving this information, the people who were stranded in Henderson left the truck and contacted B. Whitmore Inc. to have it repaired. The truck was towed away and left on the road by B. Whitmore, Inc. who stated that it could not be repaired. The FBI, state and local pigs converged on the truck, first informing the occupants that the NCCF in Winston-Salem had been destroyed and then proceeded in their usual brutal manner to conduct a search for weapons.

The people then contacted Herin in Henderson to see if they would repair the truck. Herin informed them that they had been contacted by the FBI who told them they were not to repair the truck. The people themselves repaired the truck and left at 4 a.m. on their way to the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

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• All Power To The People

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
November 28, 1970

Winston Salem, North Carolina, November 27, 1970  
Winston Salem, North Carolina, November 27, 1970  
Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the NCCF and the people of Winston Salem, North Carolina.

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POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

November 28, 1970

### Serving The People

We should be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and serve the Chinese people heart and soul ...

Our point of departure is to serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the people, and to identify our responsibility to the people with our responsibility to the leading organs of the Party.

The organs of state must practice democratic centralism, they must rely on the masses and their personnel must serve the people

Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him.

We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people.

Our Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by our Party are battalions of the revolution. These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests.

All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people, and whatever we do is to serve the people. Now then can we be reluctant to discard any of our bad traits?

Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected - that is what being responsible to the people means.

Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices.

All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. The ancient Chinese writer Chuang Tzu said, "Though death befalls all men alike, it may be heavier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather." To die for the people is heavier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather.



message of Brother Stokely Carmichael, Black people all over the country, understand it perfectly and welcome it.

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense teaches that in the final analysis, the amount of guns and defense weapons, such as hand grenades, bazookas, and other necessary equipment, will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure, as exemplified by the Viet Cong. Therefore, the greater the military preparation on the part of the oppressor, the greater is the availability of weapons for the black community. It is believed by some hypocrites that when the people are taught by the vanguard group to prepare for resistance, this only brings the men down on them with increasing violence and brutality; but the fact of the matter is that when the man becomes more oppressive, this only heightens the revolutionary fervor. The vanguard group only teaches the correct methods of resistance. So, if things can get worse for oppressed people, then they will feel no need for revolution or resistance. The complaint of the hypocrites that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is exposing the people to deeper suffering is an incorrect observation. People have proved that they will not tolerate any more oppression by the racist dog police through their rebellions in the black communities across the country. The people are looking now for guidance to extend and strengthen their resistance struggle.

of or participation in the activity. To study and learn is good but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore it is very significant that the vanguard group first be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the black revolution in racist America.

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is prepared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the black community, the black population.

If it is learned by the power structure that black people have "x" amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to prepare itself with guns, because it is already more than prepared.

The end result of this education will be positive for Black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party machinery is to be effective. It is impossible to put together functional party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party.

The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational processes. How can you teach people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above

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100-200000

1. Chief Clerk  
200 S. 1st St. Apt.  
St. Louis, Mo.

For further contact  
call 1-800-368-6868 ext. 211  
410/724-1081

Mr. Bayla  
3515 13th Ave.  
New Haven, Conn.  
203/562-7503  
EJH

131. Nink, Ned 707  
San Francisco, Calif.  
441 / 812-300

New York  
1570 Bedford Road  
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11219  
212/ 328-3541

at land  
Community Center  
1551 5th Ave.  
N. Oakland, Calif.  
415/611-0444

ENTER. - 2020

15, 3 North Street,  
N. Sydney, NSW.  
415/1577-23

HANSEN, IRVING  
 1005 14th St. S.W.  
 R.F.D. 1, Seattle  
 WA 98148

FBI Case Center  
 1105 Connelly Street  
 W. Oakland, Calif.  
 415/832-3544

Brooklyn branch  
100 Seelye Ave.  
Brooklyn, N.Y.  
212/ 342-6101  
438-1508  
342-6166

Richard  
4747 Oakley Ave.  
Richmond, Calif.  
415/233-0533

Community Centers  
45- N Main 2nd Street  
Mt. Vernon, N.Y. 10550  
914/ 667-9819

Boston  
25 ... Street  
Boston, Mass  
617/422-0100  
1981

101-16 Northern Div.  
212/ 779-1297  
1263

Chicago  
2550 W. Madison  
Chicago, Ill. 60612  
312/733-0779  
0779

Amelia  
155-52 South Rd.  
212/ 526-4531

Denver, W.D.C.  
305 1/2 15th Street  
Denver, Colorado 80202  
305/423-1854

Philadelphia  
 215/ 65 4-1225  
 Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

Indianapolis  
43127-1000  
Indiana Police, Inc.  
317-629-0157

Washington, D.C.  
20547-0001  
202/205-0001  
667-1515

The above information was obtained from the following sources:  
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 3. The above information was obtained from the following sources:  
 4. The above information was obtained from the following sources:  
 5. The above information was obtained from the following sources:

100-442888-100  
100-442888-100  
100-442888-100

624-54

( ) I am coming to the Revolutionary People's Elementary Session.

( ) I will not need Housing arrangements.

( ) I will need housing arrangement.

( ) I will not need transportation

( ) I will need transportation

( ) Other of members of of my will be attending. -Don.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_ org. \_\_\_\_\_

Non-Org. \_\_\_\_\_ phone (for org) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

721-1052

REVOLVING CHARGE ACCOUNT AGREEMENT

Cash

DATE NO. \_\_\_\_\_ CARD NO. \_\_\_\_\_

AGREEMENT

(1) Do not sign this agreement before you read it (both sides hereon) or if it contains blank space. (2) You are entitled to an exact copy of this agreement at the time you sign it, and to protect your legal rights. (3) You have the right to pay in advance the full amount due. Buyer hereby authorizes the merchant at a time specified to receive the payment.

64576

CS50

SOLE OIL & FILLING CO. CUSTOMER COPY

[illegible]

9

587 2781

-172-1635-094

Eugene Philyan

[REDACTED]

Emma King

[REDACTED]

Durham

Up Mc Gargley

[REDACTED]

404

[REDACTED]

Summary of the 1st 1000 Copies of the

\$ 145.00 - Prints - 1000

37.50 - Copies - 1000

525.00 - Copies - 1000

\$ 377.50 - Total

Summary of the 1st 1000 Copies of the

1. Originals - 1000

2. Prints - 1000

3. Copies - 1000

4. Copies - 1000

5. Copies - 1000

6. Copies - 1000

7. Copies - 1000

8. Copies - 1000

9. Copies - 1000

10. Copies - 1000

We have material on papers we need and are  
service to that section. We have copy

which will be good and a receipt

like this in a small box yellow copy

copy then copy in book

Summary of the 1st 1000 Copies of the

1. Originals - 1000

2. Prints - 1000

3. Copies - 1000

5. Monthly Receipts

to Record of Copies

or monthly sample. Finance Dept. takes from the  
money and money brought in finance book.

Sample Invoice Sheet

Date

Sold to Salesman

Salesman  
No.

No  
20

Description  
Packets

Price each  
1.00 each

Total  
20.00

Total Due

20.00

Remainder Paid

Get another desk and use other room  
for finance and distribution.

If you could again ask hand of  
get that money through at National.



George Street, London, E.C. 4  
 Bank, London, E.C. 4

State  
 Residence

Post  
 Office  
 (City of London)

Charge  
 Card

Date  
 Month  
 Year

Balance  
 (Account)

11/11/71  
Tuesday

Invoice Book  
Receipt Book  
Distribution Book - Seven

Phone - Ann's & Handphones

On Proctor's Jan - Diffusion in literature & practice

Called in

- 1) Bring me paper of possible
- 2) Bring supplementary paper



to be a part of the  
United States Empire. - International Relations of the

preparation - special  
Guiding down to below RVP

August 30 1900 P.E. Chas. C. C. C.

The history of the world is the history of the American people

Our Teachers are back to work in the Day Care Center. (Primary Session)

Start working on Translations for November 7<sup>th</sup> now!

Before you send out letters, Confirm it first

Spots on Paper - Appeal to give that is what Translations  
or Money Body.

Each Chapter Branch - Mimeograph machine - typewriter  
Type writer with paper into 2 paper with 20 pages. (5)  
Information People - Not Sunday.

Our Names on Machines

Comes. Should be kept with you. Bring films.  
People draw each Chapter, Branch or N.C.C. f

Information.  
Security  
Liberation School Teacher  
Good Appeal

Everybody should be kept with you. Bring films.  
Selling Cols

Patience P. [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

Papa, Phila.  
Napkins  
Jacks  
Rapunzel  
Sundae, Napkins  
Jailed Home

San Philadelphia  
M's. [unclear] [unclear] Thursday  
Morning

GES 7635 - Germantown  
BA 20885 - Phil Philly  
PO 37437 - New York, N.Y.

Philly Phone Home

Rough estimate of how many people we have Thursday  
Registration of [unclear] cards - Being Thursday morning  
with [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]  
[unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

No. of Informative	Centers
✓ & Bolton	1 2
✓ P. [unclear]	1 1
✓ Happy D.D.	1 1
Mrs. Mack	1 1
WQ	1 1
1172	1 1

Had a telephone by my head newspaper  
(white falls) O. Cooper

Took in by Thursday

Serge the Line Schedule - Sept 9 1970

	hour	10	Sept 15
Boston	1	10	9
Larry Hall	1	10	9
Jennace	0	2	2
10 <sup>th</sup> 1/2	1	2	1
LaReside	0	2	2
Mrs Mack	1	2	1
East Wintery (Bottom)	1	1	9 (Baker)
	39	39	

$$\begin{array}{r}
 510 \\
 4 \overline{) 2040} \\
 \underline{20} \\
 4 \\
 \underline{4} \\
 0
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 25500 \\
 2 \overline{) 510.00} \\
 \underline{510} \\
 00 \\
 \underline{00} \\
 00
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 510 \\
 4 \overline{) 2040} \\
 \underline{20} \\
 4 \\
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 0
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 24 \\
 \underline{11} \\
 10 \\
 \underline{10} \\
 0
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 414 \quad 10 \\
 255 \times 10 \\
 \underline{207.40} \\
 47.60
 \end{array}$$

15  
4

~~11/11/11~~  
 We got the paper  
 money a while  
 That's Right



Money Out - Response  
\$1.00 Phone Calls

Paul

1. Henry not willing a example. Speaking too much

Monday - J.C. Hunter waiting to leave the house after 12:00.

Daniel

Not changing order. He asked for leadership. He came in discipline. He's running around acting crazy. Less - Conduct while a teacher, (causing the fear of the masses)

Too much play. Looks like a <sup>social</sup> ~~test~~ instead of a National Committee.

Sam acting crazy. Was criticized and made the same mistake again. Seemed to be higher. Look a negative attitude.

Henry

Daniel's speech is mixed up. Runs too much rhetoric before he gets to the point.

Sam seems to be judging the whole action of the committee as a teacher from the community.

1. What part did you play in what went down  
at the Community Center?

2. Did you know what was going to happen?

3. When

After the door closed what was  
happening. Did you get in the van with  
them to go down the hill?

Only reasons for getting in van?  
Did you ask them to take you home?

Did you ask why Mrs. Mack was put  
into van? Were you trying to hide

Where were you when the niggers got  
out of the truck?

From what you saw, just what happened?

Who brought mothers out to van?

Who was Cutney talking to?

Did they just go on the porch? Had around the house?

Was the door open when Leroy & Rennie came?

~~What happened?~~ But

When say door was open, was it shut-  
tered again?

Was the house alarmed?

Did you observe <sup>any</sup> people taking positions of cover

with Scout Show on porch? Did the game from  
Culley, Bowman?

If nobody went in house? Who brought  
furniture down?

It was said the Smith Bowman Culley went in  
house. Can you verify that? Did Smith point  
gun at them?

Is it possible that they put a gun & you  
didn't see it.

You couldn't hear conversation at all?

How far were you from porch?

471  
After what had happened had Mrs Mack  
started to walk home?

Did Mrs Mack down to house?

Was Robert Cain in truck?

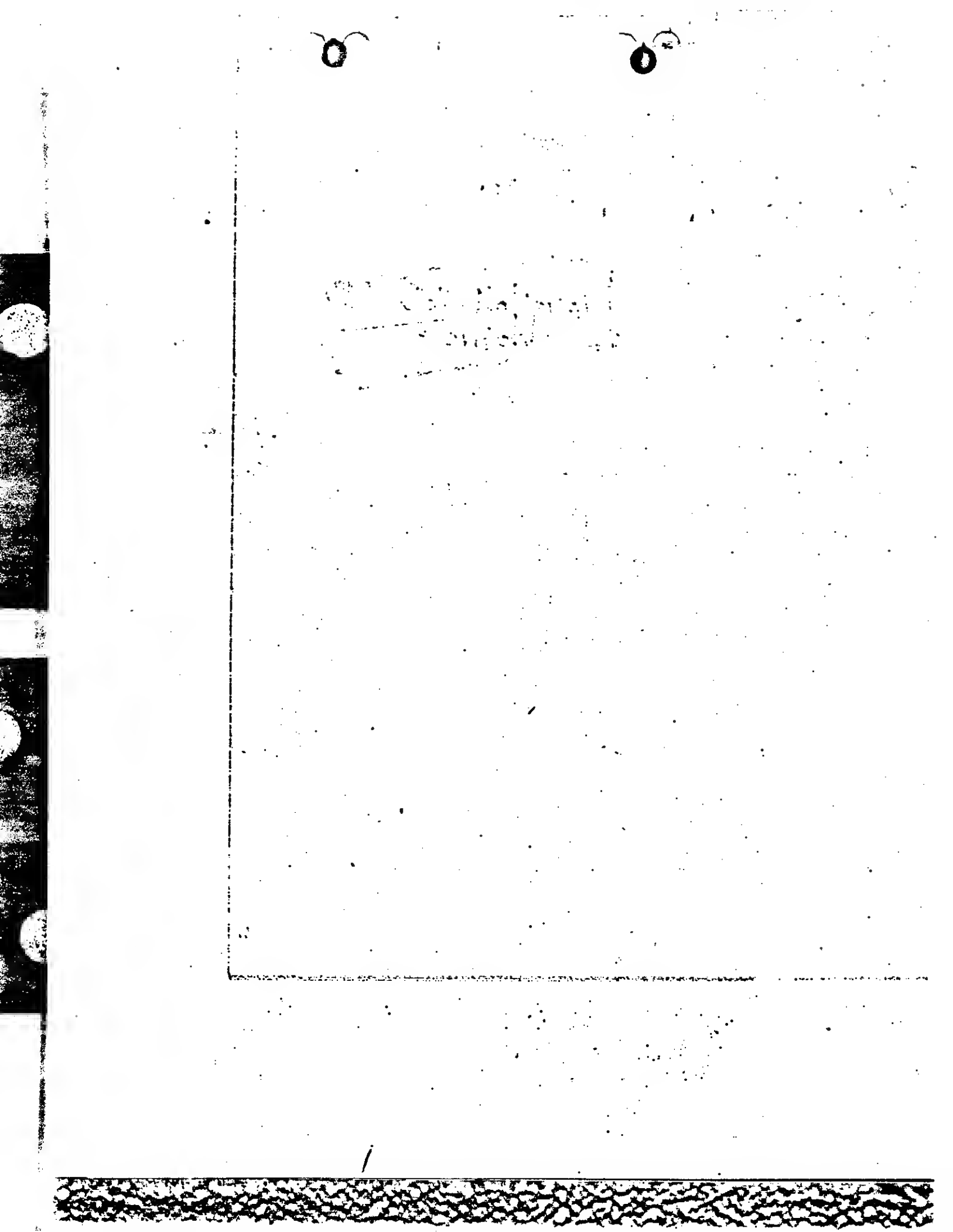
Were you sent out to count people here?

Were you hip to what was coming down then?

After what had happened, did you get back in truck?

After what had happened, why didn't you  
come & make your position clear later?

What kind of stand do you take now?



XEROXED ORIGINAL RETURN

XEROXED ORIGINAL RETURN



Find out all available means of raising money

Banquets  
Parties  
Dances etc. Contact Barb  
for convention and collection.

J. J. McMillan  
Chapel Street  
Palma Hopkins  
Betty Bourgeois Higgins  
Hugh Point - Nora Snow  
Chapel Hill  
Huey Point - Inance for Convention  
Shark Lake in detail

Bands  
Versatiles  
Superior  
Blenders  
Dancers  
Singers  
Secretaries } etc  
Camp

Information - People organizing large crowd

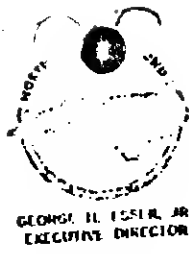
Phyllis Majer  
Student Chamber 753-7760  
Harris 834770

London, Sept. 26, 1910

Dear Woodbury

1. John hasn't been a change in appearance. I hear there is word for leadership. Wasting too much time. People that don't straighten up - go home
2. Kenny hasn't been selling any examples. Acting crazy. Edna knows better than
3. Many - individuals - tendencies. Wants to make Charles - passing up an opportunity. No regards for their lives or their comrades' lives. Both.
4. Sisters in general have attitudes towards people from the community. Being arrogant
5. No discipline (conscious) among Joseph as a whole. I hope you will

Many individuals in tendency. Use the knowledge he has - to get what he wants. Has a way with words - Julius & Mary



THE NORTH CAROLINA FIELD  
POST OFFICE BOX 687 FARMINGTON, N. C. 27724 PHONE 622-0725

III

to the masses in court during recess and  
walked up the footlocking stairs while  
he was rubbing <sup>buttocks</sup> ~~with~~ with some white  
whimsy small pig and asked him "How  
much was he paid a word for  
informing the pigs on this brother or  
that brother?" The light tipped lackey  
replied "I don't know what you're talking  
about. At the same time pigs dressed  
up as photographers tried to take our  
pictures, and we also exposed <sup>the photographers</sup> ~~them~~ as  
pigs and told them to <sup>withdraw from our midst</sup> ~~get the hell out of~~  
not take our pictures anymore. The  
pigs were lined up in two's searching  
winkers pocketbooks. They know all the time  
that the people in High Point aren't afraid  
to commit revolutionary suicide, because

They were so engaged in listening to  
"Bringing the Shragg" to the High Point,  
in High Point.

The pigs have even managed to tell  
lies that a Black Panther Party is on  
Jern Street. They are patrolling the Carson  
State Housing Projects 24 hours a day.  
The low minded beast are even asking  
little children are there any Panthers  
in High Point. The fools are going mad  
killing people that are doing about their  
business asking for information. Pigs are  
patrolling the schools working hand in  
hand with the state hall point now  
A Chaffee Principal of High Point Central  
High School. The beast is intimidating  
students because they won't tell him  
anything more than he is suppose to know.  
The pigs in High Point are getting  
mainly because of underground work.

GEORGE H. LAMAR, JR.  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FREE PRESS  
1201 OFFICE BLDG. 197 DULLES, NORTH CAROLINA 27002 PHONE 661-1111

IV  
is being circulated in High Point. They are  
giving backlogs by the dozen to find out  
what writes the <sup>paper</sup> ~~people~~ because the paper  
is constructed and written in a revolutionary  
manner. The rhetoric in the paper is  
really right on. The big thing the Black  
Panthers are writing the paper, and they are  
harassing brothers telling them if trouble  
breaks out in High Point how many years  
they will get. ~~simultaneously~~ He don't know  
who writes the paper, but a word I have  
received by the masses already. The last issue  
told of the 16 backlogs of the week. This has  
got the bootlickers up tight. Some of them were  
supposed to be friends of the people ~~people~~  
because they give some niggers the impression  
"that" was that to arrest you but this is our  
job, and be a nice nigger and maybe a

about. But you know the [?] the [?]  
[?] are also trying to fool the people  
and becoming bankers. I want a few billion  
and millions more. Guilty for illegal work  
of whiskey. The low-minded, cheat tell  
the people that they will receive charges on  
them if they inform them who sells  
whiskey. The people who I've talked to  
understand that a pig is a pig, and wish  
to be identified as the solution not the  
problem. The pigs in High Point are  
trying to pacify the people in <sup>all</sup> types  
of fashions. They brag about High Point  
and what a lovely furniture city it is.  
High Point really hasn't had any racial trouble  
since I've been living there. (last 9 yrs.)  
The pigs think High Point can't have <sup>any</sup>  
They're wrong just because it's in its  
monetary cycle; it doesn't mean that High Point  
is exempt from the black and the whites  
in the community want to rise up and

all the things become out of our control  
and is to unify our brothers and sisters  
in the north with the south.

Revolution in my lifetime

1 M.E. M.E.

High Point, N.C.

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN



Rich Powell  
8034  
Box 20836  
Greensboro, NC

Would you please have this published in your school newspaper.

It has been proven through the social justice of the administrative apparatus of this present government, ever since its inception one-hundred ninety-four years ago that it has been non-functional for Black people in particular and poor oppressed people in general. All minority ethnic groups, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Indians, Red and yellow people, all poor oppressed people in general in this country find themselves excluded from all decision making processes. There is no doubt that justice and peace belong to those able to afford it, those people within a particular class, the ruling class.

For too long in the past we have haphazardly been led and watched others, that didn't have our interest at heart, determine our destiny. We have allowed them to send us to wars we know nothing about as to the reason why or for what. We have let this non-representative government so far as poor people are concerned, to deny us our human right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. Repressive measures against the people that violate their most basic rights of privacy are being infringed upon by constitutional amendments such as the "No Knock Bill", Preventive Detention" and excessive bail (ransom) are other repressive measures that people are subjected to in the realms of the present Constitution.

When ever people attempt to use so-called legal channels of redress, their pleas sounding of agony and pain fall on deaf ears. At this time we are calling for a new constitution. A constitution written by the masses of people throughout this racist country that is representative of them and that will give all power to the people.

November 26 in Washington, D.C. there will be held a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention. This occasion will mark the coming together of all progressive people and organizations that desire a more representative government and see the need for a new constitution. Your presence at the Constitutional Convention is greatly needed to assist us in building for a better society.

Resources are also needed. Donations of money mimeograph paper or office supplies to get information out to the people. If you can assist us in getting transportation, that would also be a great help.

Send Contributions To: National Committee to Combat Fascism  
1602 E. 14th Street  
Winston-Salem, N.C. 27105  
or call  
7257026

Towards a New Constitution

Nelson Malloy

As I go to the San Francisco  
I have been able to accomplish  
a great deal. I have my life  
spent with my children being  
the oldest child. I am happy  
to get an idea of you and your  
ideas and how you are in  
guidance. I have been happy  
to see you become involved  
in community, church and  
civil activities. In the

In the past year I have  
become more active in the  
community than ever before.  
I am a member of a prominent  
tenants group <sup>(N.Y.C.)</sup> that speaks out  
on issues that affect the  
community. This group publishes  
a paper and I am Editor-in-Chief.  
I am a member of the "Friends  
of the Court" another group  
that speaks out against  
corruption. I am a member of the  
Urban League.



GEORGE H. ESKER, JR.  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FIELD  
POST OFFICE BOX 637 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 432-2221

Est. program

Re: 2. We want you to help us in our program to help  
the poor. Est. is another program to help  
Black people. When Est. design the program  
they tell you they will only provide  
the job until Oct. mother after then you  
have to find your own job. This program  
is not design to help black people because  
the pay rates are low, you don't get  
vacation and holiday, you don't get  
no over time for your work. Very nice  
the go government is not for the better  
of this country & to design job which  
will support you as your child at  
just design to keep you satisfied and  
to keep you from really getting anything  
to help black hungry poor children.  
After they have given you  
6 to 7 months training then you go  
to work for the same type of  
work you were to design to do  
then the education is not fit  
and still these you are pay



1. Brothers should never become arrogant, but remain humble and servants of the people.
2. Members of the Vanguard Party tend to become big headed when a victory is won and are no longer willing to make progress, but lap all the practices that the people, and the throw at them. This is a dangerous practice because when the enemies are able to conquer us with sugar-coated bullets, we must always guard ourselves against such matters.
3. Occassional mistakes will be made, but we mustn't let them get us down because we learn from our mistakes. On the other hand if we have not made any mistakes let us not set ourselves up on pedestals as being perfect for no one is. We should not look down upon our brothers and sisters who do error, because we are all in the process of learning the correct revolutionary procedures. Whether we be young or old, educated, or illiterate we must learn to forget our petty grievances and unite together to achieve our goals.
4. Party members in leadership positions and therefore criticize other party member and never seem to be able to see their own shortcomings. This is a bad practice that must be eradicated for the betterment of the party.
5. The work that is facing us is a challenge that must be met and defeated by all party members. We all should take our work in stride and not hand the difficult work out to someone else and take the light work. The brothers and sisters who do take the hard work and do not complain about their work are true revolutionaries in the full sense and their example should be followed by everyone.
6. Some revolutionaries tend to put their load on the shoulders of their brothers and sisters, preferring not to carry their work because their heart is not to carry their work because of their half stepping tendencies.
7. Panthers who look out for their own good and have no regard for the party itself, cannot be called panthers because of their countervolutionary tendencies they are only after the public's eye, by bragging and soliciting for power. As members of the Vanguard Party we should be honest in all endeavors and activities.
8. When considering the situation as a whole, Panthers should always carry out their actions for the betterment of all, including party members and the masses themselves.
9. As members of the Black Liberation Army we are not here to half-step. There are times and places for everything but while doing Functional Party work that is where our heart and soul should be, on our revolutionary functions, and not on pleasure seeking ventures.
10. We must always remember that we are all brothers and sisters in the revolution, therefore we should not let little clicks develop within our ranks but must be as one big family because you must clean your own house before you go abroad.
11. There are various aspect of Liberalism we must guard against. Having liberal principles within our framework is bad because it can cause the downfalls of the party.
12. If these liberal principles are not dismissed from among our mist they can eat away at the basic ideology and philosophy of the Vanguard Party thus creating disunity not only in the party itself, but also between the party and the masses.
13. People who practice liberal principles look upon our revolutionary ideals as historical idealism, they support our ideals in words, but practice their liberal tendencies. They tell you its good to try to obtain power to determine your own destiny but want nothing to do with the obtaining of it. We as members of the Black Liberation Army accept no compromises with these people, because as liberals they only want revisions within the power-structure and not a complete change.
14. We of the Vanguard Party dedicated our lives to the defense and liberation of Black people. Only when we have informed ourselves politically can we relate to and reeducate the masses. We must know what we are here for and why, because various reactionary actions will be trying to undermine us and the masses we must be able to deal with this in a revolutionary manner.
15. The most vicious struggle any party member will ever encounter is the struggle between his personal interest and the interest of the masses. But as party member we must always act in the interest of the masses.

Hand } 3-3  
Hand }

Hand }  
Hand } 3-4

Hand }  
Hand } 4-5

Hand }  
Hand } 5-6

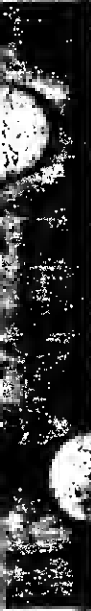
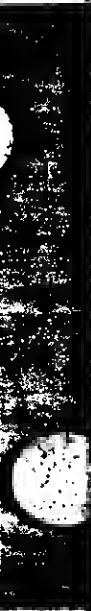
Hand }  
Hand } 6-7



03

01

Handwritten notes in the upper right quadrant, including the date "10/10/50" and the phrase "General - 10/10/50".



27

4754 1925 St. Mary's Road

522 Bay Avenue, Third Floor, New York  
Mr. Clarence

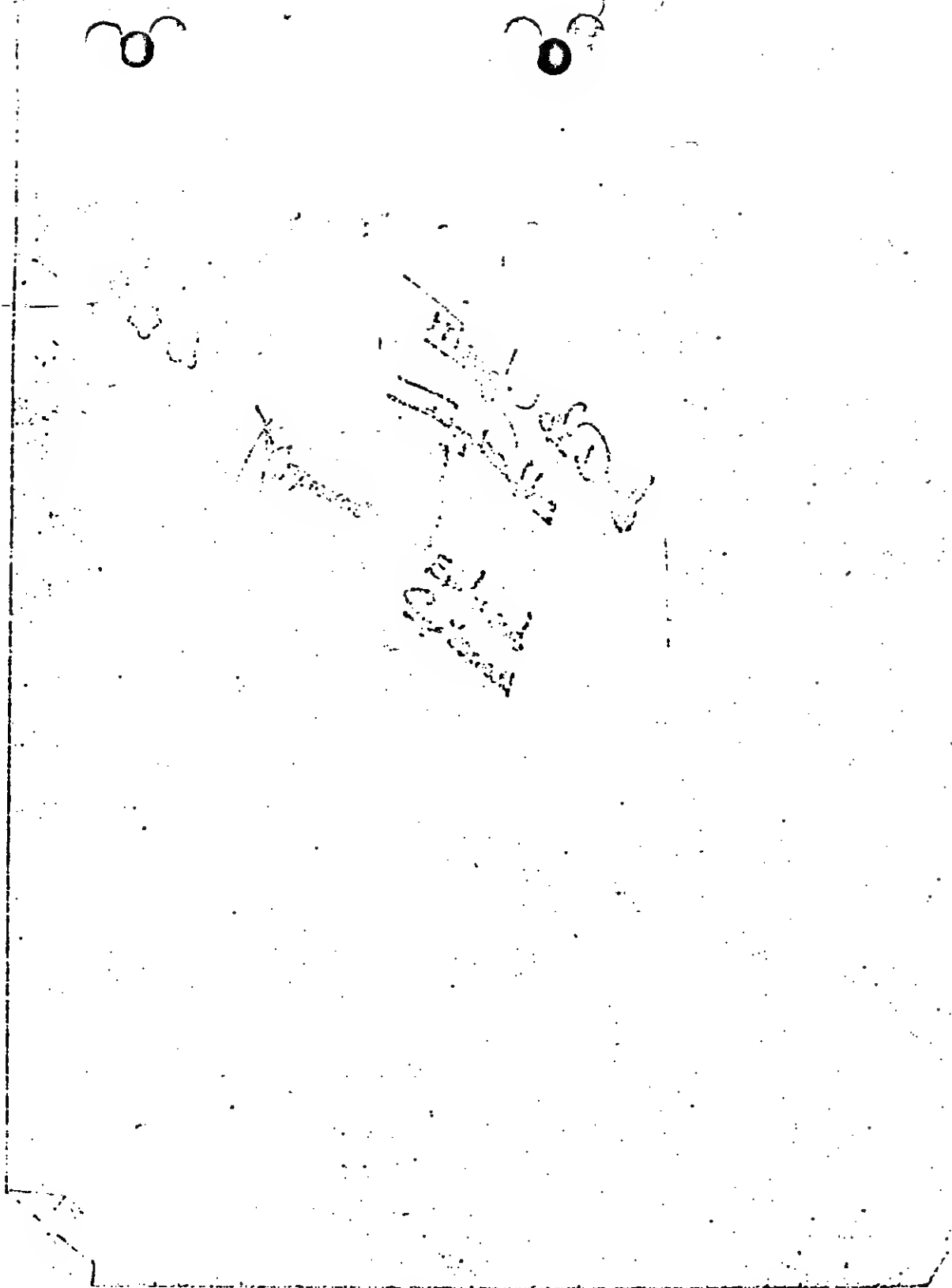
Malcolm Valley, N.Y. Dec 1925

Wm. J. Harrison  
611 1st Street

1925  
1925

ORIGINAL-RETURN

ORIGINAL-RETURN



Pushed out Pop World Head on Home

The big power structure uses many tactics to  
lead billions of young revolutionaries. By allowing  
the rich masses of collective things to operate  
only the pigs seem to think that there got a  
destinying the revolution will be a little  
easier. Pushers are pigs living off the people.  
We went on and to all forms of capitalist  
exploitation.

Many of the Blacks who are addicted have  
become this way because they can't connect  
with the oppression of the pigs with their  
heads. So get high to try to escape all of  
this. Many of them have come with the  
American forces in Vietnam where they were  
pushed into many days after witnessing the many  
acts of fascism, genocide, and acts of aggression  
by the U.S. forces. To these Blacks I say you  
can't escape oppression without dealing with the  
oppressor.

The pigs use many tactics to make the people  
think that they are concerned about the drug  
problem. They are ~~not~~ the drug problem. They have  
flooded the communities with "narcos" who only  
are concerned with shooting the young offenders  
and petty pushers. The big men never have to  
worry about getting busted. In Winston-Salem  
police judges have been charged repeatedly and seem  
to have got away with it. The pigs don't  
all this out. They are the  
young people.

the youth will rebel and question the policies.  
So therefore they have concentrated their efforts  
to ripping the youth off the streets by putting  
them into prisons and jails or trumped up  
charges or leaving the youth on the streets  
with drug-decked minds. The pigs have suc-  
ceeded but it is to wreck the high schools.  
These junior pigs (pigs in training) try to push  
drugs on the brother and set them up for a  
bust. On the corner pushers give children  
candy with heroin.

In Fayetteville, N.C. the have really  
intensified their struggle to rot Babylon of  
potential revolutionaries. They have went so  
far as to take a section of this town and  
turn it into an area where drugs can be  
produced openly with interference what-so-ever.  
This area is called Freedom Park. Each day  
the pigs seem to be drawing more people into  
the world of drug slavery making them a part  
of the problem rather than part of the solution.

The time has come for the people to draw  
a line of demarcation between the pushers and  
themselves. Either the pushers stop their  
genocidal practices and then the western  
enslavement of our young people's minds or  
face the wrath of an armed people.

All Power To The People  
Revolution in Our Lifetime

NCCF Winston-Salem  
Tex

# BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND THE C.P.

HURY TERRY NEWARK --- California State Prison, San Quentin, Calif.  
San Quentin Prison, Calif.

BOBBY SEATH --- Monroville State Correction Center, Little Rock, Ark.

LOUIS RANOLDPI WILLIAMS --- 275 Fulton St. Oakland, Calif.

CHARLES BURSRY --- 122801 P.O. Box 2210 Susanville, Calif. 96130

CLEVELAND BROOKS --- P.O. Box 133220 Sanol, Calif. (San Quentin)

LANCE BELL --- No. 601513 Cook County Jail, 2600 South 6th St. Chicago, Ill.

RANDALL ROLLINS --- Floor E-3 601517 Cook County Jail, 2600 South 6th St. Chicago, Ill.

ROBERT WHITE --- No. 128529 4800 Cooper St. Jackson, Mich.

RORY ITHIE --- Denver County Jail Box 126 Denver, Colorado.

LONDON WILLIAMS --- Denver County Jail Box 126 Denver, Colorado.

VICTOR PEREZ --- Hudson County Jail Pavonia Ave. Jersey City

CHARLES HICKS --- Hudson County Jail, Pavonia Ave. Jersey City

RONALD FREEMAN --- Book No. 351-520 P.O. Box 54320 Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

ROGER LEWIS --- Book No. 155-525 P.O. Box 54320 Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

BRUCE RICHARDS --- Book No. 275-552 P.O. Box 54320 Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

ROBERT WILLIAMS --- Book No. 322-355 P.O. Box 54320 Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

GEORGE YOUNG --- Book No. 271-503 P.O. Box 54320 Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

LEMUEL JAMES --- Book No. 435-529 P.O. Box 54320 Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

LUXEY IRWIN --- Calif. Institute for Men P.O. Box 716 Chico, Calif. 95910

LONGIE McLUCAS --- Littlefield State Jail, Littlefield, Conn.

GEORGE EDWARDS --- Bridgeport State Jail, Bridgeport, Conn.

and the other is a public one, and is a public one.

FORM 2-100

## CASH RECEIPT

Received of Cash

Trent.	1	\$ 2.00
Gol. Gus Reg.	0	\$ 0.00
Qts. Off.	0	\$ 0.00
		\$ 2.00

STATION STAMP

STATION

DATE

TIME

Date 11-10-56

27

CASHMAN

*Thank You!*

DIRECT OIL CORPORATION

### Talent Show

Featuring

*Mustang Sally Rowe*

Admission 1000  
1000

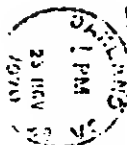
Atkins Aud.

Adm. Adults, \$1.00; Students, 75 Dr. \$1.25



1043 Euclid Street  
Berkeley, California  
94607

Winston N.C.C.F.  
1602 E. 14th Street  
Winston Salem, N.C.

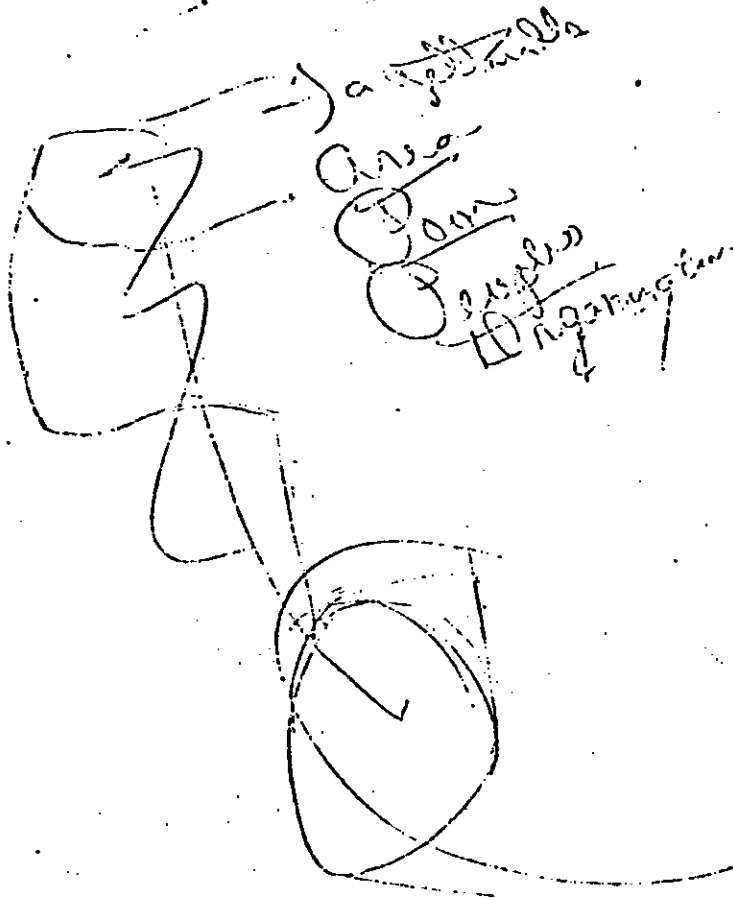


AIRPORT MAIL FACILITY



0

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1  
The diagram shows a pump or engine component. The labels indicate the following parts:

- Jack shaft hubs
- Area
- Down
- Exhaust
- Inlet

Melrose - E. 1000

Jan

G. D.

He has a little

RECEIVED



North Carolina Department of Motor Vehicles  
Registration Division  
Raleigh

FEBRUARY 7, 1967

OFFICIAL NOTICE AND ORDER OF SUSPENSION OF DRIVER'S  
LICENSE AND REVOCATION OF VEHICLE REGISTRATION

[REDACTED]  
N. SALLER, N.C.

LICENSE NUMBER [REDACTED]  
PLATE [REDACTED]

EFFECTIVE FEB. 13, 1967 YOUR NORTH CAROLINA MOTOR VEHICLE DRIVING PRIVILEGE IS SUSPENDED AND THE REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE AND PLATE ARE REVOKED FOR THIRTY DAYS BECAUSE YOU HAVE FAILED TO FURNISH PROOF OF YOUR LIABILITY INSURANCE AS REQUESTED BY THE DEPARTMENT—G.S. 20-209.

DO NOT DRIVE AFTER THIS ORDER BECOMES EFFECTIVE OR YOU WILL LOSE YOUR LICENSE FOR AN ADDITIONAL PERIOD OF ONE YEAR.

YOU ARE DIRECTED TO MAIL THE ITEMS INDICATED ABOVE TO THE DEPARTMENT ON THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THIS ORDER IF YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY DONE SO. SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPES ARE ENCLOSED. THE WHITE ENVELOPE IS FOR YOUR OPERATOR'S AND CHAUFFEUR'S LICENSE. THE BROWN ENVELOPE IS FOR YOUR LICENSE PLATE AND REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE. FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THIS ORDER IS A VIOLATION OF G. S. 20-30-0 AND G. S. 20-312.

THIRTY DAYS AFTER THE PLATE IS RECEIVED BY THE DEPARTMENT YOU WILL BE SENT AN APPLICATION CARD WITH WHICH ANOTHER PLATE MAY BE SECURED. THIRTY DAYS FROM THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THIS ORDER YOUR DRIVER'S LICENSE WILL BE AUTOMATICALLY RETURNED IF A FURTHER SUSPENSION IS NOT INVOLVED.

THIS ORDER CANNOT BE RESCINDED UNLESS YOU HAVE LIABILITY INSURANCE ON THE DATE AND FOR THE VEHICLE DESCRIBED IN A PRIOR NOTICE. IF INSURANCE WAS THEN IN EFFECT, YOU MAY RETURN THIS ORDER WITH PROOF OF THE COVERAGE AND IT WILL BE RESCINDED. THE PROOF REQUIRED IS A CERTIFICATE OF INSURANCE, FS-1, ISSUED BY YOUR INSURANCE COMPANY OR AGENT.

PLEASE DIRECT ANY INQUIRIES REGARDING THE REVOCATION AND SUSPENSION TO THE DEPARTMENT OF MOTOR VEHICLES, REGISTRATION DIVISION, FINANCIAL SECURITY SECTION.

*A. P. Gooch, Jr.*  
A. P. GOOCH, JR.  
COMMISSIONER

1. OBEY ORDERS IN ALL YOUR ACTIONS.
2. DO NOT TAKE A SINGLE MEMBE OF PIECE OF THING FROM THE POOR OR MASSES.
3. TURN IN EVERYTHING CAPTURED from the attacking enemy.

THE EIGHT POINTS OF ATTENTION ARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. SPEAK POLITELY.
2. PAY FAIRLY FOR WHAT YOU BUY.
3. RETURN EVERYTHING YOU BORROW.
4. PAY FOR ANYTHING YOU DAMAGE.
5. DO NOT HIT OR SWEAR AT PEOPLE.
6. DO NOT DAMAGE CROPS or property of the poor oppressed masses.
7. DO NOT TAKE LIBERTIES WITH WOMEN.
8. (DO NOT ILL-TREAT CAPTIVES. *If we ever have to take captives, don't ill-treat them.*)

#### CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

The Panther Party does not fear criticism because we are Marxists, the truth is on our side, and the basic masses, the workers and peasants, are on our side.

Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless; we hope that all our fellow fighters will courageously shoulder their responsibilities and overcome all difficulties, fearing no setbacks or gibes, no hesitating to criticize us Panthers and give us their suggestions. "He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unshoe the emperor"--this is the indomitable spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism.

Conscientious practice of self-criticism is still another hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties. As we say, dust will accumulate if a room is not cleaned regularly, our faces will get dirty if they are not washed regularly. Our comrades' minds and our Party's work may also collect dust, and also need sweeping and washing. The proverb "Running water is never stale and a door-hinge is never worn-eaten" means that constant motion prevents the inroads of germs and other organisms. To check up regularly on our work and in the process develop a democratic style of work, to fear neither criticism nor self-criticism, and to apply such good popular Chinese maxims as "Say all you know and say it without reserve," "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words" and "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not"--this is the only effective way to prevent all kinds of political dust and germs from contaminating the minds of our comrades and the body of our Party.

Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end.

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight.

Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.

But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations.

In opposing subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing we must have in mind two purposes: first, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones," and second, "cure the sickness to save the patient." Which is the only correct and effective method.

Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-Party criticism is that some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organization mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organization mistakes, there is no need to be overcritical or the comrades concerned will be at a loss as to what to do. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the great danger that within the Party attention will be concentrated exclusively on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautious and forget the Party's political tasks.

In inner-Party criticism, guard against subjectivism, arbitrariness and the vulgarization of criticism; statements should stress the political side.

Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity. In the Party organization of the Red Army, however, criticism is not always of this character, and sometimes turns into personal attacks. As a result, it damages the Party organization as well as individuals. This is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois individualism. The method of correction is to help Partymembers understand that the purpose of criticism is to increase the Party's fighting capacity in order to achieve victory in the class struggle and that it should not be used as a means of personal attack.

If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it.

As Chinese Communists, who base all our actions on the highest interests of the broadest masses of the Chinese People and who are fully convinced of the justice of our cause, never balk at any personal sacrifice and are ready at all times to give our lives for the cause, can we be reluctant to discard any idea, viewpoint, opinion or method which is not suited to the needs of the people? Can we be willing to allow political dust and germs to dirty our clean faces or eat into our healthy organisms?



On the interests of the people and our hearts are filled with  
about the living thing of it there be any personal  
at, then, that we would not be able or any error that  
could not discard?

We must not become complacent over any success. We should check our complacency and constantly criticize our shortcomings, just as we should wash our faces or sweep the floor every day to remove the dirt and keep them clean.

As for criticism, do it in good time; don't get into the habit of criticizing only after the event.

Taught by mistakes and setbacks, we have become wiser and handle our affairs better. It is hard for any political party or person to avoid mistakes, but we should make as few as possible. Once a mistake is made, we should correct it, and the more quickly and thoroughly the better.

#### LIBERALISM

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep on good terms. The result is that both the organization and the individual are harmed. This one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces but to gossip behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This is a second type.

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally; to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be worldly wise and play safe and seek only to avoid blame. This is a third type.

Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own opinions. To demand special consideration from the organization but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite or seek revenge instead of entering into an argument and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them, but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened. This is a sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-Panther. This is a seventh type.

to reason, hearing the inter- he ceases and yet  
is self-indulgent, or circumde him or reason with him,  
but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction;  
to work perfunctorily and muddle along---"So long as one remains  
a monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the  
revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain  
minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks,  
to be slopshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth  
type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to  
correct them, taking a liberal attitude toward oneself.  
This is an eleventh type.

1. DO NOT...
2. DO NOT...
3. DO NOT...

THE RIGHT TO... (text is faint and partially obscured)

1. SPEAK IT...
2. PAY PAYMENT...
3. RETURN IT...
4. PAY FOR...
5. DO NOT...
6. DO NOT...
7. DO NOT...
8. DO NOT...

#### CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

The Party does not fear criticism because we are Marxists. The truth is on our side, and the basic masses, the workers and peasants, are on our side.

Those who are afraid to criticize are fearful; we hope that all our fellow workers will courageously consider their responsibilities and overcome all difficulties, fearing no setbacks or go-backs, and strive to criticize the Party and give us their criticism. The one who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts is the one who is the superior--this is the indomitable spirit in our struggle to build socialism and communism.

Conscientious practice of self-criticism is still another hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties. As we say, and will remember if a room is not cleaned regularly, the things will get dirty if they are not washed regularly. Our comrades' minds and our Party's work may also collect dirt, and also need sweeping and washing. The proverb that fire water is never stale and a door-hinge is never rusty means that constant motion prevents the inroads of rust and other organisms. To check up regularly on our work and in the process develop a democratic style of work, to fear neither criticism nor self-criticism, and to truly learn from good people like Chinese maxim: "Say all you know and say it without reserve," "Blame me if a member has been wrong by his words" and "Correct me if you have committed fault and guard against them if you have not"--this is the only effective way to prevent all kinds of political decay and go-backs from contaminating the minds of our comrades and the body of our Party.

Opposition and struggle between factions of different kinds constantly occur within the Party. This is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between the classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party, there would be no need for struggle to resolve them.

We stand for... (text is faint and partially obscured)

*Original Blanked*

To see someone bearing a grievance of the masses and yet not feel indignation, or desire to stop him or reason with him, but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along---"So long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be sloped in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

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Comrades are the ones who carry out the work in their lives. The interests of the people are filled with them as with the living blood of their lives. There be any personal interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not disregard?

We must not become complacent over any success. We should check our complacency and constantly criticize our shortcomings, just as we should wash our faces or sweep the floor every day to remove the dirt and keep them clean.

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In my class I am president  
of the class and I have participated  
in many projects presented to the public.  
The activities at school that  
I have participated in are "Y" - Science, Math,  
and the Junior Engineers and Technical  
Society. The subjects that interest  
me are History and Mathematics.  
I have not fully decided  
what profession I want to  
enter but whatever field  
I go I will be working  
with people.

14. 3462

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1671-01-01  
Aber

We have received a telegraphic money order for you with the following message:

To receive the money, please call at our office at

as soon as possible and in no case later than 72 hours, since at the end of that time we are required to cancel the order and return the amount to the sender.

Please bring this notice with you and furnish evidence of your identity in accordance with the paragraph that has been checked below.

Some of the following, or any other documentary evidence of your identity, which you may have:		
<input type="checkbox"/> Birthright cards	Letters addressed to you	Auto title license
<input type="checkbox"/> Receipted bills	Bank book	Western Union collect card

☐ The lender of the money has instructed us to require positive personal identification. Please, therefore, bring with you some recognizable person known to us who can identify you. Otherwise, this, being such evidence as will serve to establish your identity beyond doubt.

NY 75 (89-63)

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY



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20843

209

2085

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REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
 WEEKLY PROGRESS REPORT

Number of People Contacted *I contacted 8 people:  
 3 people gave 5 people said names  
 had and see them later.*

Names of People Working *Mr. Quinn*  
 (Addresses and Telephone #  
 Center, Type of Work) *1349 E. 5 St.*  
*Saint Stephen Winston Salem N.C.*  
*8th Highland*

*Better Doctor* *Frank Marshall C.*  
*Charlotte area* *4th Street*  
*Winston Salem N.C.* *Winston Salem N.C.*

*Jacob A. Hill* *Frank M. Crook*  
*24 Oakley* *5930 Elmwood Ave*  
*Winston Salem N.C.*

*Timothy T. Tette* *Teddy*  
*Charlotte area* *24 Oakley*  
*Winston Salem N.C.* *Winston Salem*

### Personal Evaluation

Use other side if more space is needed)

All praise to the High  
Prattina Sanyas.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] North Carolina, [REDACTED] National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) member, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was contacted at [REDACTED] and furnished the following information:

[REDACTED] advised that, [REDACTED] she was associated with the NCCF in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was because of her attitude and work while she was in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. [REDACTED] stated that she was able to [REDACTED] and was aware of the basic ideals of the NCCF.

[REDACTED] advised that she believed in some of the NCCF beliefs but that she did not believe in extorting or demanding food and clothes from other people in the black community. [REDACTED] stated that food and clothing should be obtained through voluntary assistance and not through extorting.

[REDACTED] advised that the political views of the Black Panther Party are not based on future activities but are based on things that are happening right at the moment. [REDACTED] advised that the main difficulty with the NCCF group in Winston-Salem was that people found out that there was work to do and did not like to work. [REDACTED] advised that LARRY LITTLE was the strongest of the NCCF members and believed wholeheartedly in what he was doing.

[REDACTED] advised that the NCCF group in Winston-Salem lacked unity between people in the community in their NCCF group.

On [REDACTED]

Charlotte [REDACTED]

SA [REDACTED]  
SA [REDACTED]and [REDACTED]  
H:PEC/rep

Date dictated [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that the breakfast program for the little children was a very outstanding characteristic of the NCCF group in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that, as far as she is concerned, not only JULIUS CORNELL could possibly be a police informer but that all members could be informers.

[REDACTED] advised that she does not believe there is enough unity between the Police Department in Winston-Salem and the NCCF group but that, if their aims were similar, then it would be easier for them to work together. She stated that she found some policemen are very nice individuals while others seem to be racist. She stated that she looks at the people as individuals before classifying anyone as a "pig." She stated that, if policemen could control their emotional outlet in regard to the name "pig," things could be better in the community.

[REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] has a questionable personality, and she doubts if he will give up his Black Panther work.

[REDACTED] advised that LEE FAYE MACK wants to be on everybody's side but mainly is interested in helping black people. MACK does not like the middle black people running over the lower-class black people. She stated that MACK's group called Mothers for Black Liberation was an organization of the Black Panther Party members' mothers, whose main objective was to help people in the community understand the Black Panther Party. [REDACTED] advised that the main trouble with the Mothers for Black Liberation group was that those who joined found out that they would have to work and did not like this. [REDACTED] advised

that a lot of MACK's members in the Mothers for Black Liberation have since quit the Black Panther Party; therefore, the Mothers for Black Liberation group has almost become defunct. [REDACTED] stated that the Mothers for Black Liberation may be extinct now as far as she knows.

[REDACTED] advised that she has heard of the Committee of Twenty-Five and has read one or two of the letters sent out by the group in Winston. [REDACTED] advised that she did not believe that the Committee of Twenty-Five used the right choice of words in running down LARRY LITTLE. [REDACTED] advised that no one knows who the writers are but that the NCCF members suspect that the black people connected with police work are responsible for the letter.

[REDACTED]

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

  1   Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(C); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

       Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

       Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

                    105-165706-8-404 page 129                    

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

[REDACTED]

He advised a talent show called "Mustang Sally's Review" was held at the Atkins High School gymnasium several weeks ago and there were approximately 150 people there. He said the show was very good but almost everyone there besides them and the Panther members were homosexuals.

He noted that LARRY LITTLE asked all of them if they wanted to serve the people more, and he said he would, and he sold Black Panther newspapers in Greensboro and in High Point on one day several weeks ago. He said [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] car to Greensboro and sold papers. He said [REDACTED] was talking to a girl in the Black Panther Party, but he quit her as he did not want to get involved with the Black Panthers.

[REDACTED] continued that on [REDACTED] he attended a class in a house on 23rd Street one evening and this class was taught by HAZEL MACK and was on political power and the American constitution. She talked about how the constitution was not what it was supposed to be and did not serve the black and poor people.

This class was attended by [REDACTED], and HAZEL MACK, LARRY LITTLE, BRAD (last name unknown), NELSON (last name unknown), GARY LILLEY, LARRY MEDLEY, SHERMAN JAMES, JANET MAIZE (phonetic), "PAPADCC," and about six homosexuals were in attendance. Also, WALTINA BANGER and RICKY HOOPER and "COON," were there. He said he saw only one pump gun of some kind sitting in the corner but saw no other weapons.

He continued [REDACTED] North Carolina, started selling Black Panther papers for this group, and [REDACTED]



[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] said if she was working in the Black Panther Party, she would have to "relate" to any member of the party that wanted her. He also said she would have to have another "half" and would have to go the "family plan." All of this meant she would have to have sexual relations with any Black Panther member that wanted her.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] "TINA," NELSON, LEON GINS (from High Point, North Carolina), FRANKIE PICKEN PACT (phonetic) rode in that vehicle.

In the truck was DIANNE GRAY, DORA GRAY, RUSSELL (last name unknown), who drove, NE NE, SHERMAN JAMES, HAZEL MACK, LARRY LITTLE, GARY LILLEY, SANDRA SAILEY (from High Point), and KAY ALLEN (from High Point). He said there were approximately a maximum of 40 individuals in the truck, but he could not name anyone else.

"PAPADOC" supposedly went up early that morning to Washington, D. C., as they met him there.

There was a Volkswagen van, and Mr. MACK, JANET MAIZE (phonetic), and eight others from Winston-Salem, went up and a white man was driving the van. Some Black Panther Party members from High Point seem to know that person. On the way to Washington, D. C., they had two flat tires in the Dodge

[REDACTED]

near Henderson, North Carolina, and a wheel fell off the truck in Henderson, North Carolina. The police drove by, and LARRY LITTLE had all the people move off the highway into the woods. LARRY LITTLE called the Hertz Company, who told him the FRT had told them not to rent them trucks or have that one fixed. A truck came and pulled their truck off the road and said it would be several days before they could fix the truck. The police came and asked several questions, and LARRY LITTLE contacted some people who came in Cadillacs, and took some of the Panther members to a church. They then went and got a tire and put it on the truck. He said there was food for the convention in the truck, but there were no guns or typewriters.

He noted in Washington, D. C., everyone went to the All Souls Episcopal Church in Washington, and the convention, which was a fiasco, was held in the streets.

[REDACTED] noted the Black Panther Party headquarters in High Point, North Carolina, was on Holda Street, and added that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

BRAD, NELSON, and PAPADOC stayed in High Point, and he noted they had at least two shotguns in High Point.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

When questioned concerning "MALIK", he advised he understood that "MALIK" was hiding somewhere from the police.

[REDACTED] added that "PAPADOC" was one of the medics in Washington, D. C., at the convention, and he did come back with the Winston-Salem group. JAMES FORD was told to

22

[REDACTED]

stay in Washington, D. C. by one of the Black Panther leaders, and this was supposed to be for further education. One person came down from Washington, D. C. with the group, and he drove the truck back. His name is not known, but he was 6 feet 2 inches tall, 185 pounds, very muscular, with a Fu Man Chu mustache, goatee, bush haircut, and long sideburns. He was about 24 to 25 years of age.

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105-165706-8-404 pages 134-135

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date [REDACTED]

1

[REDACTED]

At the outset of the interview, [REDACTED] was very antagonistic and was most uncooperative and refused to answer any questions directed to him including furnishing physical descriptive data. The only comment he made was "all power to the people" and "down with pigs."

[REDACTED] was extremely anti-white and anti-law enforcement and was belligerent, and through the tone of his voice it was apparent he detested being interviewed by a white man.

In view of the above and with [REDACTED]'s refusal to cooperate or answer any questions, this interview was terminated.

On [REDACTED] N. C. File # [REDACTED] Charlotte [REDACTED]  
by SA [REDACTED]:rep Date dictated [REDACTED]

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**BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS**

1048 Peralta St., Oakland, Calif.  
Office & Ministry of Information  
465-5047/48/49



**CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

Minister of Defense  
HUEY P. NEWTON

Chairman  
LOBBY SEALE

Minister of Information  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Chief of Staff  
DAVID HILLIARD

Field Marshal  
DON COX

Minister of Education  
RAY 'MAGAR' NEWITT

Communications Secretary  
KATHLEEN CLEAVER

Minister of Culture  
EMORY DOUGLAS

Minister of Finance

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Minister of Justice

Prime Minister

**TO:** All chapters and branches of the Black Panther Party and to Black Panther Party Community Information Centers and National Committees to Combat Fascism

**FROM:** Black Panther Party National Headquarters

**RE:** The distinction between Black Panther Party Community Information Centers and NCCF centers of operation

Community Centers set up and run by the Black Panther Party are to be called Black Panther Party Community Information Centers. These Centers will enlist the active support of community people and may even have full time community workers working out of them. But by no means will persons other than members of the Black Panther Party be permitted to live in these Centers.

Out of the United Front Against Fascism Conference in July, 1969 came the National Committees to Combat Fascism in America. These Committees (NCCF) have in turn set up centers of operation in Black and White communities across the country. These centers are to be run and operated by community people.

It should be clear, then, that NCCF centers are organizing bureaus of the Black Panther Party ONLY. They are not chapters or branches of the Party, and persons operating out of them are not to be referred to as Panthers nor are they to assume positions equivalent in name to those in the Black Panther Party.

*David Hilliard*  
David Hilliard,  
Chief of Staff

*Roosevelt Hilliard*  
Roosevelt Hilliard,  
Assistant Chief of Staff

*Emory Douglas*  
Emory Douglas,  
Minister of Culture

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The Thursday, January 7, 1971, "Daily Tar Heel", a student newspaper of the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, contained an article reflecting RICHARD MOORE, Black Panther Party spokesman and one of the "New York 21 conspirators", will speak Friday, January 8, 1971, in the Political Science 95 A Class.

Class members had requested that a Black Panther and someone involved in the conspiracy trial speak before the class and MOORE accepted the invitation.

The article reflected MOORE and twenty others were indicted April 2, 1970, on charges of plotting to set off bombs in five mid-town New York department stores, plotting to dynamite the tracks of the Penn Central Railroad and plotting to bomb a Bronx, New York, police station.

Presiding New York State Supreme Court Justice JOHN M. MURTAGH set bail for the twenty one at \$100,000 each.

Only eleven of the twenty one will undergo trial because the remainder are underage.

Their lawyer, GERALD B. LEFCOURT said the indictment was an attack on the Black Panthers directed from Washington.

The item reflected MOORE is 25 years of age and is one of three of the twenty one presently free on bond, as no bondsman would touch the case and the party was unable to bail all of them out.

On January 11, 1971, [REDACTED] reported that on January 8, 1971, ZAID SHAKUR, Deputy Minister of Information of the New York State Chapter of the Black Panther Party, appeared before approximately 1,000 persons gathered for Political Science Class 95 A, at the University of North Carolina.

SHAKUR replaced RICHARD MOORE, the speaker originally scheduled, as MOORE reportedly was unable to attend because of legal entanglements. SHAKUR was introduced by LARRY LITTLE, Chairman of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Chapter of the National Committee to Combat Fascism, which is closely allied

with the Black Panther Party. He was flanked on three sides by five Panther bodyguards. By the time he had completed approximately half of his speech, the audience had dwindled to less than 500.

SHAKUR spoke about the Black Panther Party, indicating that the membership had been virtually closed since 1969 and continued to be under a purge. He spoke about the 450 year history of the black man and his racial and economic exploitations, but indicated that everything was subject to change. He indicated no more Panthers were going to jail, claiming they were dying anyhow and it did not make any difference how, indicating they were being shot down in the streets by the gestapo pig forces. He indicated that Jesus had been busted for anarchy when he was trying to overthrow an imperialist government.

SHAKUR claimed the party's current motto, survival to service of the people, was exemplified by the Black Panthers program to provide clothing and transportation and other services needed by the black people in the communities and their sponsorship of free breakfast programs. He indicated the Black Panthers did not consider all black people good, and indicated there were black pigs, including the mayor of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. He referred to the American society as "Babylon", indicating the United States legal system represented maximum security to the Black Panthers and he indicated NIXON was the number one warden.

On [REDACTED] that on January 8, 1971, at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, about twelve Black Panthers were present including LARRY LITTLE and ZAID SHAKUR. The featured speaker, ROBERT MORRIS, did not appear and ZAID SHAKUR, who was introduced by LARRY LITTLE, spoke in his place. LITTLE introduced SHAKUR as being the Assistant Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party in New York. Remarks of SHAKUR and LITTLE were concerned with the so called fascist government oppression in this country and the Black Panther Party's efforts to create a socialist state. One of the unidentified Panthers was recognized as having attended a planning meeting for the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention held previously at University

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of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. Various Panther posters, records and pamphlets were sold at the meeting and also funds were solicited from persons as they left the audience. One of the items sold was a copy of the Mini Manual of the Urban Guerrilla.

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II. ACTS IN FURTHERANCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
PROGRAM OR POLICIES

[REDACTED] nc  
[REDACTED]  
On [REDACTED] reported that two typewriters stolen from Atkins High School had been given to the Black Panther Party at 1602 East Fourteenth Street.

In addition, [REDACTED] reported that some individual, name not known, is reportedly attempting to obtain an M-60 (machine gun) for the Black Panther Party group in Winston-Salem.

On [REDACTED] reported receipt of information that the Black Panther Party houses on Fourteenth and Sixteenth Streets in Winston-Salem were fortified on the inside by sand bags up to window height and the side walls reinforced with concrete. There are gun slots in the windows and several rooms within the headquarters building are not generally accessible to all members.

On [REDACTED] reported that the Black Panther Party members at Winston-Salem were claiming the "pigs" had started the fire that had burned their headquarters. HAZEL MACK and LARRY LITTLE were both active in the disruption at North Forsyth High School, their exact part was not mentioned.

[REDACTED] reported that three rifles were observed at the front desk at [REDACTED] home at [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] reported that LARRY LITTLE had gone to Durham, North Carolina, where he contacted the President of the Student Body at Duke University and obtained \$280, which had been JANE FONDA's fee for an appearance which she had said to give to the Black Panthers.

[REDACTED] reported that at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the statement had been made

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that "COON" (JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR.) was getting all of the "pieces" together to be kept upstairs in their headquarters. Not all of the members are allowed in the room where the guns will be kept.

On [REDACTED] reported that RANDY JENNINGS of the High Point, North Carolina, headquarters on Hulda Street, indicated the desire for a couple of banana clips for a .30 caliber carbine which he has at the house on Hulda Street. [REDACTED] the Hulda Street house was a 30-06 rifle and a 16 gauge shotgun, in addition to the .30 caliber carbine.

[REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED] it was learned that a guard is kept on duty at the Panther pad at 1386 Wilson Street, as well as 1616 East Twenty Third Street, both in Winston-Salem; and 612 Hulda Street in High Point.

[REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] NELSON MALLOY indicated the desire to buy 300 bags so they could fill them with sand and sandbag their headquarters in High Point, North Carolina, like the headquarters in Winston-Salem has been sandbagged.

[REDACTED]

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### III. TEACHING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM



[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] the group at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, held a political education class each Sunday with some twenty to thirty persons present. This was primarily a political discussion group speaking of liberation, liberalism, and the study of Black Panther Party literature.

[REDACTED] noted that LARRY LITTLE led a group of [REDACTED] in hand to hand combat training in front of the headquarters. LITTLE seemed to know what he was doing, noting that he has been to California where he claimed he had been taught. LITTLE made the statement that Winston-Salem continues to be the main headquarters, although there is a group operating at High Point, North Carolina.

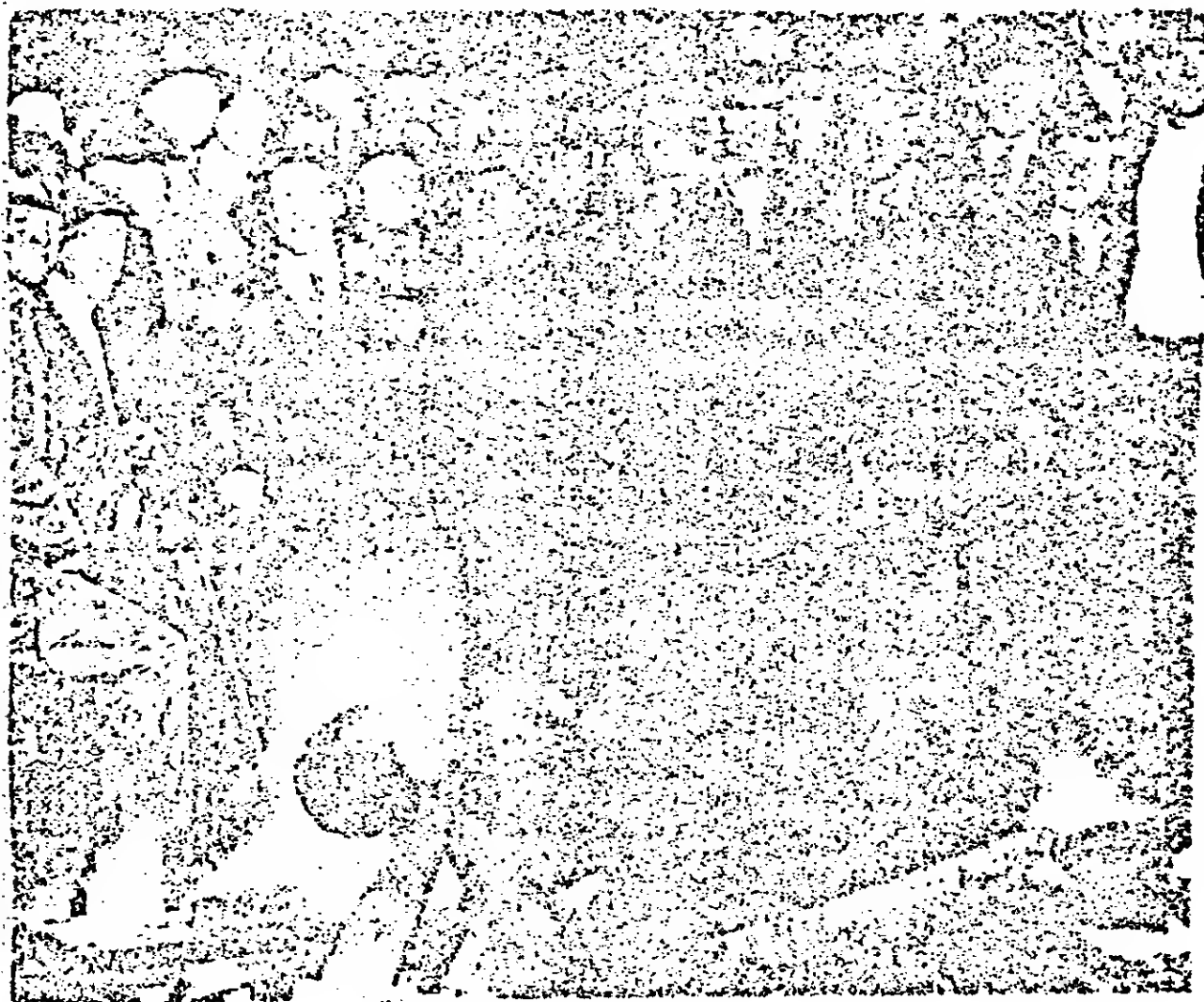
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IV. DOCUMENTS URGING THE REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

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On [REDACTED] made available the following poster advertising the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention at Washington, D. C.

# REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL Convention Washington, D.C. November 6-10



Where is Freedom when a people's right to "Freedom of Speech" is denied to the point of murder? When attempts at "Freedom of the Press" bring bombings and lynchings?

Where is Freedom when the right to "peacefully assemble" brings on massacres? Where is our right to "keep and bear arms" when Black People are attacked by the Racist Gsatapo of America? Where is "religious freedom" when places of worship become the scene of shoot-ins and bomb-ins? Where is the right to vote "regardless of race or color" when murder takes place at the voting polls? Are we free when we are not even secure from being savagely murdered in our sleep by policemen who stand blatantly before the world but yet go unpunished? Is that "equal protection of the laws"? The empty promise of the Constitution to "establish Justice" lies exposed to the world by the reality of Black Peoples' existence. For 400 years now, Black People have suffered an unbroken chain of abuse at the hands of White America. For 400 years we have been treated as American foot-stool. This fact is so clear that it requires no argumentation.

[REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED] literature available at the National Committee to Combat Fascism headquarters on East Twenty Third Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, included booklets on "The Genius of Huey P. Newton", "The Ideology of the Black Panther Party", and "Education and Revolution". In addition, the November 28 and December 5 copies of the Black Panther newspaper were available.

On December 9, 1970, and December 14, 1970, [REDACTED] made available copies of the following pamphlets:

## WHITE RACIST ATTACK HUSBAND AND WIFE

In a trailer camp, on Old Greenboro Rd. there are about five trailers the occupants are both Blacks and Whites. As one white man stated, "We have no trouble until outsiders come in". This proved to be true on Sunday, Nov. 29, when a racist fool attacked Mrs. Lillie Lawson because she was talking to a white neighbor. After Mrs. Lawson got into her house this same white racist went and got his shot gun, tore down the Lawson's door and beat Mr. Lawson in the head while he ran to the door to protect his home. He shot at a guest of the Lawson's when he said he was going to get the police.

When the pigs did come they only cited the racist, Winky Diggins, to court. We well know and understand that the Winston-Salem Police Department is also racist. If this had been a Black that attacked a white he would have been put in jail and given a bond or held until time for court. Instead, by letting this fool back out on the streets they allow him another chance to attack other blacks simply because they are Black. Therefore the pigs only work hand in hand with the racist.

We urge everyone to come to court Dec. 11 to support Mr. and Mrs. Lawson even though we know that there is no justice in the courts for poor people in general and Black People in particular.

FIGHT RACISM WITH RACIAL SOLIDARITY  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
N.C.C.F. 1616 E. 23rd St. Winston-Salem

# COMMUNITY POLITICAL EDUCATION CLASSES

EVERY TUES. NIGHT AT 7:30

The National Committee to Combat Racism is inviting people from the community to Political Educational Classes. The purpose of the classes is to inform the people what the BLACK PANTHER PARTY is all about. But more important, they will learn what the struggle of Black people is all about in our present society; what role we as poor people in General and Black people in particular play in this society.

We learn the true nature of America, along with the true history of Black people. We educate each other as to how we can take that history and learn from it in this day making us more wise as to how we should deal with our problems of being ECONOMICALLY OPPRESSED, ECONOMICALLY EXPLOITED, AND SOCIALLY DEGRADED.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
WINSTON-SALEM N.C.C.P.  
1616 E. 25th Street

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On December 15, 1970, [REDACTED]  
supra, furnished the following leaflet, noting that the Black  
Panther Party group runs off copies from masters which they  
have produced by a private company.



# SURVIVAL THROUGH SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE FREE BREAKFAST FOR

## CHILDREN

Throughout the 400 year struggle by the embattled Black Communities here in Babylon, many different tactics have been used to achieve the same result--The salvation, liberation and freedom of our people. Out of all this, the blood shed and the lives lost; the wisdom gained by our people through our struggle to survive, has developed the ideology of the Black Panther Party. This ideology is not an abstract thing to be read and studied and then forgotten; it is a concrete plan in which the result will be long sought after freedom.

The Black Panther Party Free Breakfast Program for School Children takes this wisdom gained, this ideology and puts it into practice. Like all programs started by the Black Panther Party, The Free Breakfast Program is a Panther-community action program which points out a contradiction in this decadent capitalistic society and then solves that problem by providing a socialistic alternative. The correct method of dealing with problem of hunger here in Babylon, is to have the Black Community come together and provide for itself in a communal manner.

The Black Panther Party Breakfast Program is a survival practice it puts theory into practice, that is why we have implemented a Free Breakfast Program everyday MON-FRI. at 7:30 a.m.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM

1616 E. 23rd Street

and

1376 Wilson Street

Winston-Salem, N.C.

THE WORLD IS YOURS, AS  
WELL AS OURS,

BUT IN THE LAST ANALYSIS,

IT IS YOURS. YOU YOUNG PEOPLE,

FULL OF VIGOR AND VITALITY, ARE

IN THE BLOOM OF LIFE,

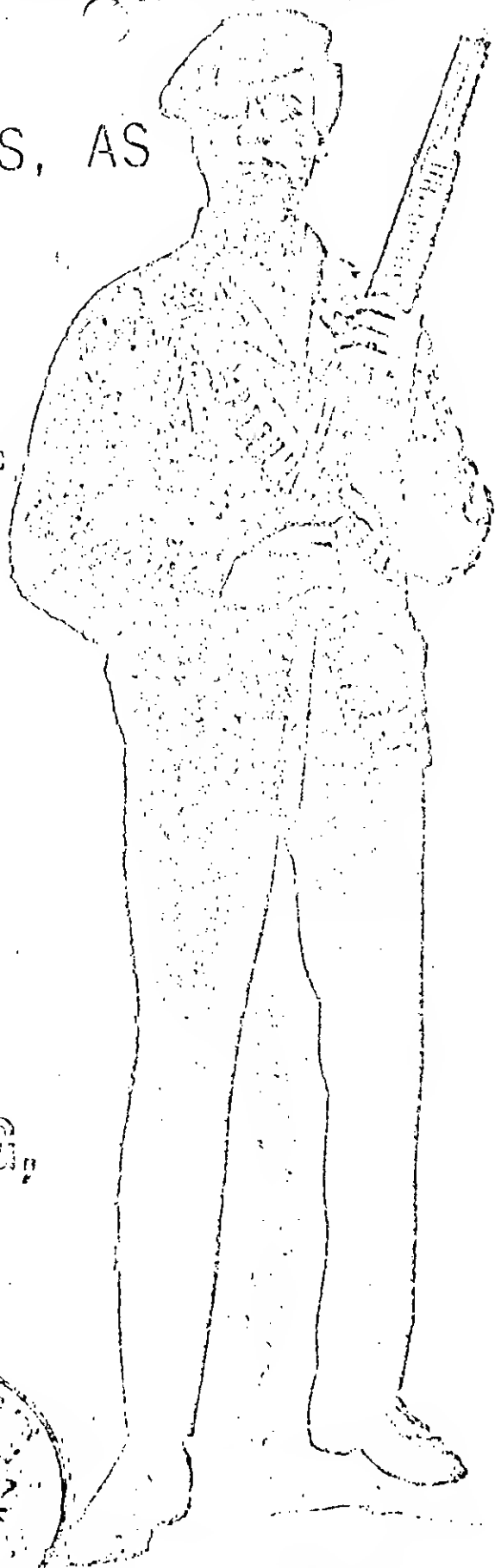
LIKE THE SUN AT EIGHT OR NINE

IN THE MORNING.

OUR HOPE IS PLACED  
ON YOU."

EVERY SAT. MORNING,

12:30--2:00



CE 157-6171

The following leaflets were furnished by [REDACTED], which were passed out in the High Point area prior to December 24, 1970:

# BLACK COMMUNITY INFORMATION CENTER

HIGH POINT, N.C. OPEN DEC. 25 at 4:00

So let it be heard December 25th 1970 will be a very important day in High Point N.C., for this is the day that the racist Power structure in High Point and the Racist avaricious Santa Claus will be greeted with a bang. For years and years and years which have now added up to 400 years black people throughout Babylon have been suffering from poverty under a racist capitalistic government that gets joy out of seeing people suffer. Black people have prayed, begged, and demonstrated for an immediate end to the inhuman injustices that were inflicted upon us. Indecent housing conditions malnutrition, inadequate medical care, unemployment, racial oppression, capitalist exploitation, social degradation. All these describe the Black Community of High Point N.C. as well as all the Black Communities throughout racist Amerikkka. Now is the time for us to move in a unified manner to correct these injustices all over this racist country.

## OPEN HOUSE

SPEAKERS: Larry Little

Ed McQueen

FILMS: interview with chairman Bobby  
off the pigs

TAPES:  
on Eldridge Cleaver



230

612 HULDA st

## WHAT WE WANT

## THE TEN POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of the Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county, and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black Communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

On [REDACTED] reported that leaflets had been passed out at High Point, North Carolina, about a demonstration January 8, 1971, at the courthouse in High Point. These were actually printed at the Black Panther Party headquarters in Winston-Salem.

On January 11, 1971, [REDACTED] furnished the following, which were obtained from Black Panther Party headquarters in Winston-Salem:



# JOE

# DELL



is being framed in High Point for Armed Robbery.  
We know that it is a common thing for Black People to be framed in court and to make time for something they didn't do. From the out set we don't receive a fair trial because we aren't tried by our peer group. We are tried by white middle class people who know nothing about the type of life the average Black man lives. So we know in advance that Joe Dell like so many other Blacks will be found guilty regardless. He will be found guilty unless the people let the pigs of High Point know that we aren't going to stand by and see our people railroaded off to jail any more. Support Joe Dell in court Fri. Jan. 8, at 9:00 am.

## FRAME - UP

## IGS

## V.S.

## PEOPLE'S

## SERVANT



NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
TO COMBAT FASCISM  
1616 E. 23rd St.  
Winston-Salem

BLACK COMMUNITY  
INFORMATION CENTER  
612 Joe Dell Ave. (formerly HULDA ST.)

copy

MASTERY OF INFORMATION,  
P.O. BOX 2587, CUSTON HOUSE  
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

QUOTATION

AND

DESIGN BY:

*[Signature]*

MINISTER OF CULTURE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

© Dwight Stearns/old Perseus/old  
Productions Incorporated

ALL THE WEAPONS WE USED AGAINST  
EACH OTHER WE NOW USE AGAINST THE OPPRESSOR



BY ALL MEANS AVAILABLE



MINISTRY OF INFORMATION  
P.O. BOX 2057, CUSTOM HOUSE  
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

QUOTATION

EMORY DOUGLAS

BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM &  
PROGRAM, POINT NO. 2

DESIGN BY:

*Emory Douglas*

MINISTER OF CULTURE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

© Emory Douglas, 1967  
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WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE

WE WERE FORCED TO WORK ALL DAY PICKING COTTON, DIGGING DITCHES, WASHING DISSES,  
SCREWING OTHER PEOPLE'S WIVES. ALL THIS AND MORE I WAS FORCED TO DO FOR SLAVE  
WAGES... BUT THOSE DAYS ARE LONG GONE AND NOW I DEMAND EQUALITY, JUSTICE AND PEACE

202

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
P.O. BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE  
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

QUOTATIONS:

EMORY DOUGLAS  
and the

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

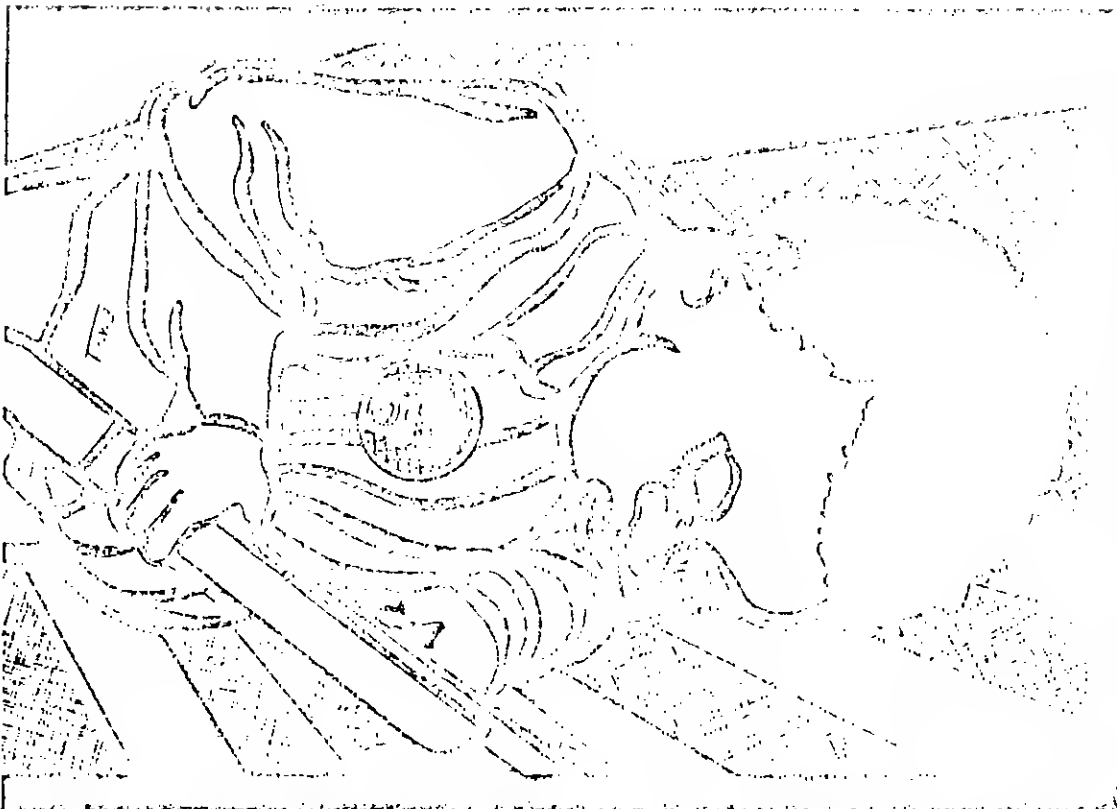
DESIGN BY:

*Frederic*

MINISTER OF CULTURE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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Frederic Inc. Incorporated

IN GOING TO BE A FIVE-DON FIGHTER LINE HEY P NEWTON,  
HILARIOUS CLAVIER, JESSIE SEALE, DAVID HILLARD,  
JONATHAN JACKSON, JAMES McLEAN, WILLIAM CHRISTMAS,  
MICHELL MOORE AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.



YOUTH EARN THE EVOLUTION

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On [REDACTED] made available a copy of a pamphlet "Manual of the Urban Guerrilla", by CARLOS MARIGHELLA, which was obtained January 8, 1971, at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, following a speech of ZAID SHAKUR.

The following are articles which appeared in the Black Panther newspaper pertaining to North Carolina:

## WHITE RACIST ATTACK HUSBAND AND WIFE

ed a White he (the Black) would have been put in jail and given a bond or held until time for court. Instead, by letting this fool stay on the street they allowed him another chance to attack other Blacks simply because they are Black. Therefore, the pigs only work hand in hand with the racists.

We urge everyone to support Mr. and Mrs. Lawson even though we know there is no justice in the courts for poor people in general and Black people in particular; but this will serve as another example for the people to see the unjust tactics of Winston-Salem courts.

### Mr. & Mrs. Lawson

FIGHT RACISM WITH RACIAL  
SOLIDARITY!

In a trailer camp, on Old Greenboro Road there are about five trailers. The occupants are both Blacks and Whites. As one White man stated, "We have no trouble until outsiders come in." This proved to be true on Sunday, November 29, when a racist fool attacked Mrs. Lillie Lawson because she was talking to a white neighbor. After Mrs. Lawson got into her house the same white racist went and got his shotgun, tore down the Lawson's door and beat Mr. Lawson in the head when he ran to the door to protect his home. He shot at a guest of the Lawson's when he said he was going to get the police.

When the pigs did come they only cited the racist, Winby Duggins, to court. We well know and understand that the Winston-Salem Police Department is also racist. If this had been a Black that attack-

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

N.C.C.F.  
1615 E. 23rd. Street  
Winston-Salem, N.C.



## CHILDREN BRUTALIZED BY RACIST PRINCIPAL IN WINSTON SALEM, N.C.

Racist principal Jackson at Jamestown Elementary School in Winston-Salem, N.C., brutalized Black students for not having done their homework. One little brother by the name of Arthur Baldwin was beaten very severely by this pig and had to be taken to the doctor. The doctor confirmed that the child was beaten severely and had marks and bruises on his back.

There were several other students that were also beaten by pig Jackson. All together there were seven kids that were victims of his fascist tactics, 5 Black, and 2 White. He stated before he started beating them that he would give the Whites three licks and the Blacks six licks. Having them to stand at an angle by touching their toes, he began to beat them. Arthur Baldwin's aunt took out a warrant for assault with a deadly weapon which was a paddle.

This case was taken to court on December 1. In the courtroom Lawyer Samuel Chess presented his case against Jackson. Jackson's lawyer couldn't disagree with the charges, so instead all he did was plead guilty to the judge. Judge Byron Hayworth, who is also a racist pig told the lawyers that the teachers or principals had the right to beat a child, but with reasonable force, or the force that is necessary to make a student go in the right manner or way.

The case was then dismissed, and these children did not get equal justice in court. This shows you that Black people have no rights that the racist pigs are bound to respect. In conclusion, if the courts don't give justice to the people, then the people must rise and give justice to the courts by any means necessary, as defined by the

Declaration of Independence,  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
DEATH TO THE RACIST PIGS!  
Larry Medley  
George Dewitt  
High Point Winston-Salem, N.C.



## PIGS BURN WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. NCCF OFFICE IN AN ATTEMPT TO SABOTAGE THE R.P.C.C.

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the NCCF and the people of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On November 27, approximately 60 members of the NCCF and the community left Winston-Salem at noon on their way to Washington, D.C. They were traveling in a hired truck and three cars. Soon after they started on their journey the truck developed mechanical problems. At Henderson, North Carolina at 4 p.m. they were forced to pull off the road and as they did this the front tire of the truck fell off. On investigation, knife marks were found on the tire and the people of the community confirmed that unknown persons were seen around the truck prior to the commencement of the journey.

At 5 p.m. they telephoned Winston-Salem and were then informed that the NCCF headquarters had been burnt down. A member of the NCCF reported that he was in the front office when he smelt smoke. He went to the back and saw a blaze which he tried to put out but was unsuccessful. Eyewitness reports state that something had been thrown into the office.

The Fire Department arrived and instead of trying to stop the fire, confiscated files and other supplies. They would have taken everything if they had not been prevented by the people of the community who had converged on the office.

On receiving this information, the people who were stranded in Henderson left the truck and con-

tacted E. Whitmore Inc. to have it repaired. The truck was towed away but left on the road by E. Whitmore, Inc. who stated that it could not be repaired. The FBI, state and local pigs converged on the truck, first informing the occupants that the NCCF in Winston-Salem had been destroyed and then proceeded in their usual brutal manner to conduct a search for weapons.

The people then contacted Herz in Greensboro to see if this company would repair the truck. Herz informed them that they had been contacted by the FBI who told them they were not to repair the truck. The people themselves repaired the truck and were able to leave at 4 a.m. on their way to the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

It is obvious that this was a planned attempt by the fascist pigs to prevent the people of Winston-Salem from participating in the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

We call upon the oppressed peoples of our Communities under siege here in Babylon to liberate our community in Washington D.C. in order that the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention might take place. We call for mobilization for survival until we are able to join the other peoples of the world who have liberated their communities and go forward to implement inter-communalism.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

November 28, 1970

CE 157-6171

V. EVIDENCE OF NATIONAL UNITY

On November 13, 1970, SF T-16 reported receipt of information from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, that the group did not get papers the past week, although they sent in \$100. The group desired 3000 papers at a later date.

On November 17, 1970, SF T-16 reported that [REDACTED] from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was inquiring about Black Panther Party newspapers and the financial situation concerning the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention.

On [REDACTED] reported that JAMES S/ FORD was back in Winston-Salem from Augusta, Georgia, and reported that at Augusta the police have been putting Black Panther newspaper salesmen in jail. [REDACTED] also reported that RICKY HOOPER is the Finance Chairman and has been calling National Headquarters in Oakland once a week to tell them about the money situation.

On November 25, 1970, SF T-22 reported that [REDACTED] (of Winston-Salem) was in New York and indicated they had received 1800 newspapers the previous week but had not been able to sell them, so they desired 1000 of the current issue. SF T-22 also indicated that [REDACTED] from North Carolina had gone to Atlanta, Georgia, to check out [REDACTED] and report on his findings.

On November 25, 1970, SF T-22 reported that five boxes of the Black Panther newspaper were shipped to Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On November 27, 1970, SF T-22 reported that information had been received from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, that they had received 1048 papers.



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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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105-165706-8-404 page 243

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On December 1, 1970, SF T-16 reported that the Black Panther Party members from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, had furnished an article to the National Headquarters about the burning of the Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism headquarters.

On December 3, 1970, SF T-22 reported seven boxes of newspapers were shipped to Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On December 3, 1970, SF T-22 reported that the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, group owed back paper bills to National Headquarters.

On December 4, 1970, SF T-22 reported information that [REDACTED] from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, is to go to Atlanta, Georgia, to look over the operation and see if the group is ready to start distribution of the Black Panther Party newspaper.

On [REDACTED] reported that JAMES FORD desires to return to the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, area; however, because of the armed robbery charges out for him in South Carolina, he has to stay away. GARY and BRADFORD LILLY had been out selling the Black Panther Party newspaper that day. AC

According to [REDACTED] JULIUS CORNELL from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, also known as "COCK", travels about the country and receives his orders from an individual at Washington, D. C., known only as "BIG MAN".

On [REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED] a group of the Panthers sold the newspaper in downtown Winston-Salem. During the day, [REDACTED] out of the headquarters and some of these were to pick up newspapers to sell.

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105-165706-8-404 pages 245-247

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On December 15, 1970, SF T-22 reported [REDACTED] was upset because their newspapers had arrived late from National Headquarters.

On December 16, 1970, SF T-22 reported that this was believed to mean that the papers had arrived on Sunday instead of Thursday as usual.

On [REDACTED] reported that a member of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, group had went to the Winston-Salem airport to see if their papers had arrived, but they were not at the airport. According to [REDACTED] they are apparently obtaining money from selling the newspapers and donations.

On [REDACTED] reported that the Black Panther Party group at Lumberton, North Carolina, is inactive and will remain inactive until their court convictions concerning the shooting up and disruption of an urban renewal meeting in Lumberton are appealed. The Black Panther Party newspaper is not being sold and one of the members advised that although he still believes in the Black Panther Party program, the National Party was not interested in the Lumberton, North Carolina, group.

On December 26, 1970, WF T-10 reported receipt of information that 600 newspapers had been shipped by bus to the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, group.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP),  
also known as  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to the official newspaper of the BPP, the BPP was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY G. SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther," regularly states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, GEORGE MURRAY. This article ended with the following:

"Black men, Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

DAVID HILLIARD, in the "New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPP newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture EMORY DOUGLAS as follows:

"The only way to make this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is. . . by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces. . . are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgement against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U. S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the USA.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A source has advised that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as presently regarded, came into being at a founding convention held June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy" the line of the national leadership has revealed a growing Marxist-Leninist adherence which currently calls for the building of a revolutionary youth movement. Concurrently, the program of SDS has evolved from civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war stance to an advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist position. China, Vietnam, and Cuba are regarded as the leaders of worldwide struggles against United States imperialism whereas the Soviet Union is held to be revisionist and also imperialist.

At the June, 1969, SDS National Convention, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) forces in the organization were expelled. As a result, the National Office (NO) group maintained its National Headquarters at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, and the PLP faction set up headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This headquarters subsequently moved to Boston. Each group elected its own national officers, which include three national secretaries and a National Interim Committee of eight. Both groups also print their versions of "New Left Notes" which sets forth the line and the program of the particular faction. The NO version of "New Left Notes" was recently printed under the title "The Fire Next Time" to achieve a broader mass appeal.

Two major factions have developed internally within the NO group, namely, the Weatherman or Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) I faction, and the RYM II faction. Weatherman is action-oriented upholding Castro's position that the duty of revolutionaries, adventuristic, elitist faction which denies the historical role of the working class as the base for revolution. RYM II maintains that revolution, although desired, is not possible under present conditions, hence emphasizes organizing and raising the political consciousness of the working class upon whom they feel successful revolution depends. Although disclaiming control and domination by the Communist Party, USA, leaders in these two factions have in the past proclaimed themselves to be communists and to follow the precepts of a Marxist-Leninist philosophy, along pro-Chinese communist lines.

A second source has advised that the PLP faction which is more commonly known as the Worker Student Alliance is dominated and controlled by members of the PLP, who are required to identify themselves with the Pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist philosophy of the PLP. They advocate that an alliance between workers and students is vital to the bringing about of a revolution in the United States.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (CONTINUED)

SDS regions and university and college chapters, although operating under the outlines of the SDS National Constitution, are autonomous in nature and free to carry out independent policy reflective of local conditions. Because of this autonomy internal struggles reflecting the major factional interests of SDS have occurred at the chapter level since the beginning of the 1969-70 school year.

A characterization of PLP is attached.

## SCHOOL / 100% A PLANTIFIC 221011 (CONTINUED)

SOG is known and universally used college chapters, although operating under the outlines of the SGA National Constitution, and autonomous in nature and free to carry out independent policy reflective of local conditions. Because of this autonomy internal struggles reflecting the major factional interests of SOG have occurred at the chapter level since the beginning of the 1969-70 school year.

A characterization of FLE is attached.



YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA CHAPTER

The "Daily Tar Heel," student newspaper published at the University of North Carolina (UNC), Chapel Hill, North Carolina, on November 7, 1968, published an article stating that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) would hold its first organizational meeting on November 7, 1968, at the University of North Carolina.

On February 20, 1969, a source advised the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee meeting on February 4, 1969, at New York City, approved the creation of a local Young Socialist Alliance at Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

FBI

Date: 1/27/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM - BPP

[REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly confidential source, advised as follows on 1/21/71:

An individual by the name of [REDACTED] (LNU), at the Winston-Salem NCCF chapter, contacted BPP National Headquarters, Oakland, Calif., speaking with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] informed this individual that 2,000 copies of the BPP newspaper would be sent to Winston-Salem to assist them at this time. In the course of this conversation, [REDACTED] also informed [REDACTED] that MARTIN KENNER, of the New York 21 Defense Committee, was going to come to Winston-Salem, N. C., to assist in efforts to get the brothers who were recently arrested out of jail.

This information is furnished to Charlotte for information to reflect the possible arrival in that

- ② - Bureau (105-165706-8-403)  
2 - Charlotte (157-6171) REC 70  
3 - New York (100-161933)

- (1 - 157-NEW YORK 21 DEFENSE COMMITTEE)  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 157-1624)

JAC/peg  
(9)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

RACIAL INT. SECT.

JAN 29 1971

58 FEB 9 1971

SF 157-2861  
JAC/peg

area of KENNER.

New York should furnish Charbttte with any available information indicating that KENNER does in fact travel to Winston-Salem for this purpose.